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WORLD FACTS and AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY.

Cornelius H. Patton

WORLD FACTS AND AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY

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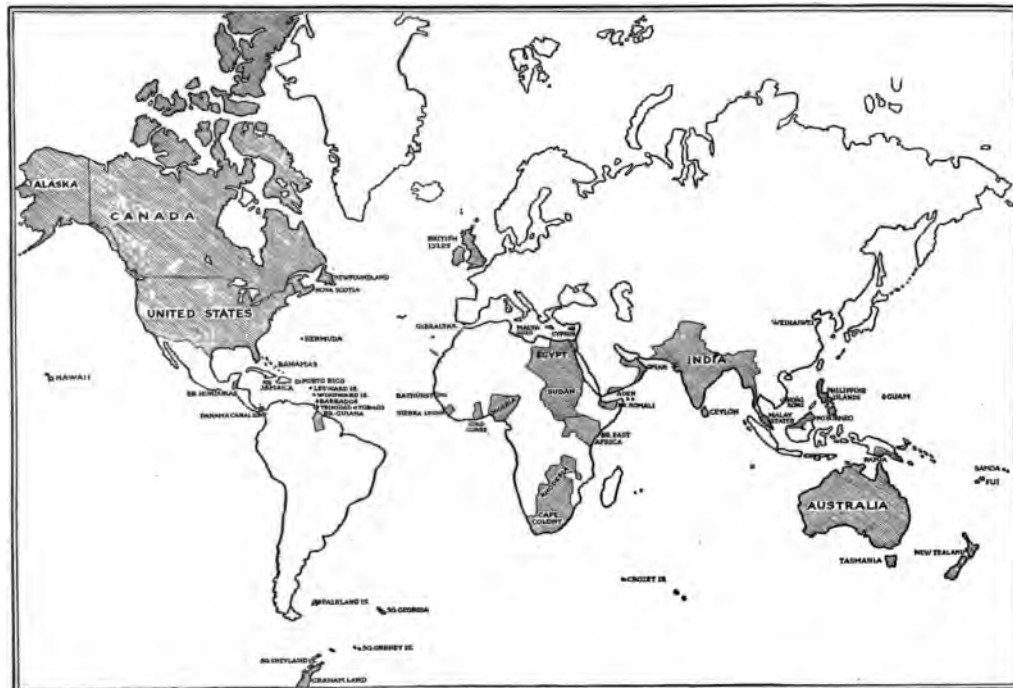

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN WORLD. Land areas of considerable size governed and controlled by Great Britain and America are indicated by shaded lines. Island possessions are indicated by names. The six great families of English-speaking people — Great Britain, the Union of South Africa, Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, dominate the Atlantic and make the Pacific "the Mediterranean of the twentieth century." With Egypt as the gate to Africa, with India as the keystone of Asia and island groups occupying strategic points, the Anglo-American combination is in a position of unparalleled power and opportunity. (See Fact VII.)

WORLD FACTS AND AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY

CORNELIUS Howard PATTON, D.D.
Secretary, Home Department,
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
Author of "The Lure of Africa"

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To

All My Fellow-Christians

in America Who Are Willing

to Be of World Size

WHY THESE TEN FACTS?

Every patriotic American rejoices over the splendid prospects for our foreign trade which have come as the result of the War. The signs which point to a noteworthy expansion of our commerce are unmistakable. Congress is bound to repeal or amend the ill-advised shipping laws which have favored rival powers at the expense of the United States. A large increase in our merchant marine is already assured and docking facilities are improving rapidly. One sure indication is the fact that the great banking houses of New York are establishing branches in the commercial centers of Asia, Africa, and South America, while schools for the training of employes for foreign service have come to the front as an entirely new development in education. The newspapers, since the signing of the armistice, have been particularly busy in this realm with their interesting "broadsides" upon "The peace settlement and America's foreign trade." I take up my paper this New Year's Day morning and find that the leading article is entitled, "All Mankind Needs the Help of America." It is a well-considered statement of the trade opportunities which are beckoning our manufacturers and exporters from every quarter of the earth.

All this is admirable, and every red-blooded American is thankful that at last we are to have our full share in the world's commerce. The nations need our resources

and we have a right to the profit which is involved. But is this all? How about a world service of a much higher kind — a service which will perpetuate the noble altruism that led us into the War, and enable us to apply on a world scale the humane and spiritual ministrations which gave to the War a distinctly religious character? "All Mankind Needs the Help of America." True — but in more ways than the writer of that article imagined.

It is time we were discussing this matter in an earnest, definite way. The world has come to believe that there are some things for which Americans care more than for the Almighty Dollar. The War has placed us on a pedestal in the eyes of the nations. Our idealism is known to the remotest tribes of Asia. Are we now to fall from this high estate? Are we to settle down upon a materialistic basis? Or are we to become a mighty factor in the higher life of the world? The big question before America in these days is not business, but philanthropy and religion — what part are we to take in rebuilding the world upon the foundations of God?

This book is offered as a contribution toward such a discussion. It presents ten great facts which bear upon America's new responsibility. It is written with the idea that the primary need is for information. There has been, possibly, enough of academic discussion in pulpit and press as to America's duty in respect to the new world. Most of us recognize the principle; but we want to know the facts as to the world's need and the direction in which our efforts should be made. We need the compulsion of concrete realities.

By confining the diagnosis to ten events I have sought to state the case in a manner so simple that the reader can readily hold it in mind and, if he is so inclined, pass it on to others. Even so the discussion covers a wide range of inquiry, and I suppose some will be saying the treatment is superficial. If so, my reply would be, facts, certainly great facts, are never superficial. By the nature of the case they are fundamental. It has, therefore, seemed to me sufficient to establish the facts as facts, interpret them in their relationships and bearings, and then leave them to speak for themselves. So far as there is failure to expand and elaborate, it should be a challenge to the reader to study the subject on his own part. He will find not a few quotations from acknowledged authorities and sundry references to books which offer an attractive field of independent investigation. Throughout I have kept in mind the importance of condensation and brevity, if one is to secure a reading in these days of multitudinous publications.

It is my conviction that during the next few decades we are to see a rapid spread of the Christian religion, and of the civilization based upon that religion, throughout the non-Christian world. It is my conviction that America, in close association with Great Britain, is called of God to lead off in the movement to make Christ supreme in the world's affairs. I believe great days are ahead for the Church of Christ. If this little volume helps in any wise to stimulate thought and effort in that direction I shall be grateful indeed.

In closing let me make two hearty acknowledgments.

Miss Florence S. Fuller, of our American Board staff, has been of great service in reading the original manuscript, in going over the proof, and particularly in preparing the index. Her suggestions have been uniformly helpful. Then there is my daughter, Augusta, who rendered valuable assistance in the matter of looking up historical references, verifying quotations, and rounding out the list of events in the March of Democracy, as set forth under Fact VIII. Such helpers have made the work a delight.

I should add that the material in Fact IV was printed in the "Envelope Series" of the American Board, under the title, "The War and World Unity."

C. H. P.

January 1, 1919.

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WORLD FACTS AND AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY

FACT I

THE RENAISSANCE OF ASIA

It has long been an accepted idea that the four most prominent events of modern history are the Invasion of the Roman Empire by the Barbarians, the Crusades, the Renaissance, and the French Revolution. The continent of Asia, with its population of 850,000,000 has been passed by in silence. Historians of the modern world, as a rule, have been content to add a few paragraphs in small print at the end of their sections, in which they have paid their respects to India, China, and Japan. The reader was reminded that these nations occupied a place on the map, but were not to be considered as participating in the affairs of the great world.

It is far different today. Since the Anglo-Japanese Agreement of 1902, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, and particularly since the outbreak of the World War, Western people have begun to realize that the East is to be reckoned with as an integral part of the world's life. Yet few grasp the significance of this fact. The rapidity of the movement in the Eastern hemisphere

has been such that only those who climb high towers take in the situation. We do well to remember that as late as 1894 Russia was considered by many writers as the leading military power, the only real menace to world peace. The papers at that time were printing "scare-head" articles on the danger of the "Russianization of the world." The Russian Bear was the favorite symbol of the cartoonists. British statesmen were gravely concerned over Russia's designs upon India. The progress of the Siberian railway was watched with anxiety. Senator Beveridge of Indiana, returning from a trip to Siberia, was lecturing on "The Slav Peril," and later wrote a sensational book on "The Russian Advance." In 1903 a prominent bishop of an American church came out with a book on world movements which contained this astonishing statement:

"We are up against an inexorable proposition. As we peer into the mists that veil the future, coming events cast their shadows toward us. There is a huge figure approaching. It has a fur cloak over its shoulders, and a club in its hands. It may be the coming Hercules. Looking more closely it is a Bear, 'The Bear that walks like a man.' If Russia appropriates and assimilates China, we are face to face with the most powerful empire ever known among men. . . . The strife of all time will be to decide whether the commerce of the Pacific, which will be the bulk of the world's commerce, which will mean the dominating power of the world, shall be Russian or American, whether the Pacific with its interests shall be Slav or Saxon, shall be for absolutism or liberty. Almost in spite of ourselves, certainly by no planning of our own, we are being put in shape for this struggle. Our decks are being cleared for action."

It is a grim piece of humor that in the same book this author pictured *Germany* in alliance with England as the best hope of Europe.

Today writers of the same temperament and outlook upon world affairs are warning us against Japan, and with about equal reason. They are talking about the "deadly yellow peril"; they dwell upon "the irrepressible conflict with the East" and urge with the perfervid bishop that even now we should "clear our decks for action." Could anything emphasize more strongly the new position of the East in world affairs than this substitution of Japan for Russia as an object of dread?

How about this awakening of Asia? Are we to consider the emergence of the Eastern nations upon the world scene as a distinctly new event in human history? Will the historian of the future add Asia's Renaissance to the most prominent events of the modern period? Clearly not. What has happened is that Asia has joined the world. The Western culture has projected itself eastward, as formerly the Eastern culture projected itself westward. The Renaissance of Asia completes the Renaissance of Europe. There is to be one standard, one life for the world. This is a fact of momentous import, even if it does not mark a new era in history. It bears vitally upon the problem of the permanent peace of the world.

The Modernization of Japan

Certainly no one will deny that Japan today is an integral part of our civilization. When we consider the efficiency of her army and navy, her superb educational system, her commercial enterprise, and her

successful adoption of our devices for banking, manufacturing, transportation, and the organization of city life, we must accord her a high place in the sisterhood of modern states. It is a question whether in certain departments, such as education, she has not surpassed her teachers. Just now Japan is quietly at work capturing the trade with the West which hitherto has been monopolized by Germany. Her merchants and manufacturers are in evidence in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, as never before; possibly also in London and Paris. Taking advantage of war conditions, Japanese houses have been turning out goods wholly Western in style and usage, which formerly we made at home or imported from Europe. Formerly we knew at a glance when an article was made in Japan — the characteristics of that land of art and quaintness were conveyed in texture and design and even in the wrappings. Today there is little distinction. Their market in the West supplies not only our parlor walls and cabinets, but our wardrobes and our kitchen pantries. It will soon be supplying the drug counter and the hardware shelf.

All of this has happened since 1853, practically since 1871, when, abolishing the feudal system, Japan set up housekeeping as a modern state. The extent of the transformation is realized when we recall conditions in the pre-Meiji era. Count Okakura Kakuzo characterizes the state of his country before the adoption of parliamentary government by the words "buried alive." Except for a small trade with the Dutch through a single port, the land was sealed tight against the outside world. Feudalism had remained undisturbed for

seven hundred years. The caste system appeared firmly entrenched. Internal conditions were of a shocking character. Smallpox, typhus, dysentery ravaged the communities undeterred. There was not a hospital in the country. Illiteracy was well nigh universal. Religion was little more than superstition. The population was 25,000,000. From such a low level has Japan leaped to her present position among the nations. Japan in fifty years has made as much progress as Europe in five hundred years. That she has accomplished this through the wholesale adoption of Western ways is, of course, to be kept prominently in mind, yet it serves to emphasize the achievement as typical of processes which may lead to similar transformations in other parts of the world. The rapidity of social evolution under modern conditions offers one of the strongest grounds for hope when we consider the future of the backward races.

In all this change the mental attitude of the Japanese has been a prime factor. Europe and America have been the model ready to hand and there have been many willing teachers; but without a certain mental alertness and open-mindedness Japan would never have reached the head of the Asiatic procession. There was first of all the determination to win. "Second to None" has been the motto of the "Era of Enlightenment," as she loves to characterize the days since the Emperor came to the front in national affairs. Japan was willing to learn; she did not consider it unworthy for a nation to be humble-minded. She revealed her quality when she brought experts from the West and retained them in her midst, with honorable estate and

generous pay, until such time as her own sons should become leaders in every department of life. We recall the names of Colonel William S. Clark, Dr. William Elliot Griffis, and Lafcadio Hearn as standing for the best in science, education, and literature. Japan looked even farther ahead when she enrolled her choicest sons in the universities and technical schools of the West; and farther still when her commission toured the world for the study of public education in America and Europe. She now enrolls ninety-eight per cent of the school population and claims a literacy above that of any other land.

The crowning achievement in Japan's rapid upward climb is the preservation of the national temperament and spirit. The taunt is often made that the Japanese are mere copyists of the West. Certainly, aside from the realm of pure art, we can not accord them a high place for originality and genius. They do not compare favorably in this respect with either the Chinese or the Indians; but to credit them with nothing but a slavish imitation is to miss a fundamental factor in Japan's progress. In spite of the tide of Western life which has poured in upon them and received so warm a welcome, they remain essentially Japanese. No traveler mistakes this fact, and no well-wisher for the race would have it otherwise. Ambassador Reinsch, of Peking, has this to say of Japan:

"While an unprecedented social change was going on, and while the entire mechanism of Western industrial life was being rapidly adopted, the leaders in this movement were animated with the desire not to copy Western civilization, but to assimilate those methods which would render them able to defend their own

civilization against oppression or usurpation by the better armed nations of the world. No other hypothesis is possible, because it is unthinkable that a nation should give up its essential customs and beliefs, and still retain a unified and energetic national life. Thus, while the Japanese have learned our methods and have successfully analyzed our system, they have remained loyal to the spirit of their own historic past."[1]

Whatever Japan may or may not achieve in the future, to her belongs the credit of being the first to abolish the old isolation of Asia. Tagore, the Indian philosopher-poet, pays Japan the tribute that she showed the way and broke the illusion, which had become a settled conviction, that progress was impossible in the East. It will be a natural, shall we not say inevitable, step in advance when, as the leader among the Oriental nations, Japan comes out squarely for a common ethical and religious standard of life for the world. There are those who maintain with Dr. Griffis that Japan is "the true middle term in the surely coming unity and reconciliation of the Orient and the Occident."

China Breaks with Her Past

"China is the theater of the greatest movement now taking place on the face of the globe. In comparison with it, the agitation in Russia shrinks to insignificance; for it is not political, but social. Its object is not a changed dynasty, nor a revolution in the form of government; but, with higher aim and deeper motive, it promises nothing short of the complete renovation of the oldest, most populous, and most conservative of

[1] P. S. Reinsch, "Intellectual and Political Currents of the Far East," p. 32.

empires. When, some thirty years ago, Japan adopted the outward forms of Western civilization, her action was regarded by many as a stage trick — a sort of travesty employed for a temporary purpose. But what do they think now, when they see cabinets and chambers of commerce compelled to reckon with the British of the North Pacific? The awakening of Japan's huge neighbor promises to yield results equally startling and on a vastly extended scale."

Thus wrote Dr. W. A. P. Martin in 1906. Since then Russia has had her great revolution, resulting in the overthrow of her monarchical government and the setting up of the republican régime. Still Dr. Martin's words stand true. China preceded Russia by six years in throwing off the yoke of bondage, has shown far more ability in the understanding of democratic ideals, in the reshaping of her institutions, and, whatever may be thought as to the ultimate success of the experiment, has at least made it impossible for the Manchu dynasty ever to return to power. The attempt of these two countries with their untrained officials and their vast illiterate population to attain democracy at a bound is one of the most pathetic, if inspiring, spectacles of history. Whatever may be our judgment as to the outcome, we must admit that China does not suffer by the comparison.

The cleavage point between the new and the old in China's awakening was the disastrous war with Japan in 1894. Through that humiliation, as by one flash of intelligence, China came to realize that she was hopelessly outclassed in efficiency. Japan she had considered her inferior, not only in numbers, but in intelligence and fighting qualities. "A nation of dwarfs,"

"people hardly civilized," was her way of characterizing the Japanese. Yet, after a struggle lasting only six months, China was humbly accepting what Japan had to offer. History records no ruder or more salutary awakening. The Boxer uprising, instigated by the Dowager Empress and the Manchu officials, followed this event, but it proved to be the death struggle of a system which had already lost its grip. The advance made since that time has been truly remarkable. The first step was throwing wide open the doors to foreign diplomacy and commerce. China joined the world. The next step was the institution of Western science and education as the basis of her new life. This required a reconstruction of the educational system. The memorizing of the classics, a mechanical process with slight relation to character and none at all to practical efficiency, had been the backbone of her education for two thousand years. The mental toil exacted by this process is indicated by the fact that not less than 30,000 Chinese characters had to be learned by a student who would acquire proper literary style. The tests were given in examination stalls, scarcely four feet square, where for a period of three days the students were left in complete isolation, unable even to recline. It is not surprising that under these physical conditions and in view of the terrific mental strain, rarely was an examination held in which some student was not found dead in his cell. All this was abolished at a stroke. Travelers today bring back pictures of these ancient stalls, in multitudinous rows, standing deserted and in a crumbling state, fit symbols of the passing of the old régime. In place of

the classical memory halls we find now a complete system of public schools, of primary, grammar, and high-school grades, with Western branches — geography, history, physics, and chemistry — taught alongside of proper Chinese subjects. Provincial universities for the districts and the University of Peking for the nation at large crown this admirable scheme. The last figures obtainable show nearly 40,000 public schools, with an enrolment above a million. Coincident with this process the Government began to send selected students to Europe, America, and Japan — 15,000 to Japan alone — for special training and for the closer study of the Western arts and civilization. It is to the shame of Japan that she did so poorly by these students. The majority of them were so undone in their morals that China is constrained to look farther away for help. Japan, with all her progress, was not morally big enough to undertake such a trust. There are now about 1,400 Chinese students in the United States.

Transportation and commerce early demanded the attention of the new order. In the lack of capital, concessions were granted to foreign corporations, and railroad extension began with a rush. A trunk line running southward from Peking connects the capital with Hankow, the commercial center of the great Yangtze valley, the Chicago of the Chinese republic. This line is being extended to Canton, and thus the two divergent, not to say antagonistic sections of the country, will be brought together. Another line will join the rich province of Szechuan in the interior with the river transportation system of the Yangtze. Various

other minor lines are projected. By such means the Government has been able to build up an excellent postoffice system that reaches the leading cities and interior towns, and is proving of incalculable value as a binding element for the widely scattered districts and divergent populations. Factories are springing up at commercial centers, in which Western machinery is taking the place of hand labor. The public press has seen a remarkable development. The Chinese are a reading people, and the hundreds of journals which are issued from centers like Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Hankow, Foochow, and Canton are eagerly scanned, and exert a far-reaching influence. China contains the greatest coal deposits in the world. Iron and petroleum are abundant. It is therefore a highly favorable sign that stock companies are being formed akin to those in the West for the development of these and other natural resources. The Chinese are learning to trust one another. With such vast wealth under their feet they will not always remain in their present poverty and helplessness.

The development of governmental institutions, like the army and navy, law courts, police protection, public sanitation, a trained diplomatic service, have been coincident with the growth of the democratic idea and the establishing of the republic in 1911. Through all the vicissitudes of the new régime the great goal of a Westernized Orient has not been lost to sight.

The greatest test of all has been China's willingness to give up the ancient customs which hampered her development. From the beginning of history conquerors of alien civilizations have been brought up

standing when attempting to change the customs of the land. China has taken this matter into her own hands. A prominent Chinese educator, when visiting the United States, was asked what change in his country he considered most significant. He thrust his hand behind his head and made a comical gesture as of one using a pair of shears. The voluntary abolition of the queue, first in the army, then among students, then in commercial centers, and now increasingly throughout the land, is a sufficient answer to those who would question the depth of China's purpose to become an integral part of the world. If anything else is needed, consider the prohibition of the opium traffic, which had been forced upon China by outside nations, but which she dealt with in a way peculiarly her own. With some 25,000,000 people addicted to the foreign drug, the passing and enforcing of a prohibitory measure was a task from which the most centralized and favored nation might well shrink. Yet China cast out the evil thing with scarcely a ripple of excitement. Since the edict went into effect in December, 1917, practically no opium has been sold in China, except for medicinal purposes. This is an achievement without parallel in the history of reform.

Taking it altogether, may it not be said that China has made almost as much progress in fifteen years as Japan made in half a century? When we consider that these changes have occurred among a people until a few years ago characterized as unresponsive, inert, and hopelessly conservative, regarding it a crime to attempt to improve upon the past, and holding the outside world in scorn, even the best historical par-

allels fail to impress. China, better than any other land, illustrates the aptness of Taine's remark when he described the Renaissance as a process by which nations attained ideas wholesale, not by bits. China, once known as the oldest, slowest, and most conservative of states, has set a new pace for Asia and the world.

The Awakening in India

India's awakening has been a gradual one, but a convenient starting point is the year 1905, when Japan gained her victory over Russia. This achievement sent a thrill throughout the Asiatic nations. With marvelous rapidity the news penetrated to the remotest corners of the continent. A few days after Witte and Komura signed the Treaty of Portsmouth, the fact was known and discussed by the tribesmen of Afghanistan, Turkestan, and Tibet. Everywhere in the bazaars it was recognized as an Oriental victory. The East had prevailed over the West in a fair fight. An obscure Burmese villager was heard to remark, "And we, too, are brown men."

In India the effect was electrical. The argument ran in this fashion: "If Japan with her fifty millions could beat Russia with her one hundred and fifty millions, what should prevent India with her three hundred millions from overcoming England with her meager forty-five millions?" This statement of the case was exceedingly popular in certain circles; but it is to the credit of the Indian leaders generally that they were not misled by such naive mathematics. What they did was to begin forthwith the study of the underlying causes of Japan's success. At that time

the Young Men's Christian Association of India invited two representative Japanese Christians to visit the larger cities and speak to the educated men. One of these was Rev. Tasuku Harada, President of the Doshisha, the Christian college which was founded by the famous Joseph Neesima. Great meetings were held in the leading cities of India, and the messages of the Japanese delegates were listened to with profound attention. The deputation had one message for every place: "What Japan has done, India can do. Will you do it? Japan has abolished caste. Will you? Japan has given education to her women. Will you? Japan, with open mind, has received truth from every quarter. Will you do the same? Be ready for sacrifice and to act, not dream." At the final meeting Dr. Harada closed his impassioned appeal for India to throw off her age-long habit of idle contemplation and to take an interest in practical affairs by citing Matthew Arnold's lines,

> "The East bowed low before the blast,
> In patient, deep disdain
> She let the legions thunder past,
> Then plunged in thought again."

Whether or not this particular message sank into the hearts of the Indian leaders we do not know; but looking back upon the events of the past ten years, and especially considering the reaction to the World War, we can say with confidence that India of late has been engaged in something besides meditation. In every part of the land we detect signs of an awakening and aggressive national consciousness.

Soon after the Russo-Japanese War there arose in

the Province of Bengal the Swadesi Movement, which, while little more than an attempted boycott against European goods, had its political and social aspects and served to indicate the new interest which had arisen. In those days the papers of Calcutta contained advertisements like this:

"Patronize mother-country by purchasing country-made goods. Essence White Rose 12 annas; Otto-de Rose, no way inferior to English and French ones, Rs. 1.4. We beg to inform patriotic public that all sorts of country-made dhoties, chaddars, bed-sheets, coatings, shirtings, etc., are sold here at a very fixed and moderate price. Buy the Swadesi ulsters, the strongest, the beautifullest, the best." [2]

Advertisements of this character, amusing as they seem, were a sort of economic declaration of independence. Of more significance were the editorials of the native press, in which we find such expressions as these: "The situation is critical indeed." "We must ever bear in mind that the honor of India is at present in our keeping." "We have already given unmistakable proofs of our capacity for organization and sustained work." "In the name of our beloved country and for her sacred cause . . . we have been forced into this heroic struggle."

The Swadesi Movement soon subsided, as too restricted in its scope to affect the national life; but two new notes were sounded which have carried far and wide, the notes of nationalism and of a practical self-assertion. Ten years ago it was the custom of travelers to say that India, because of her 150 lan-

[2] See "A Vision of India," by Sidney Low, Chap. XXIV.

guages, her innumerable castes, her intolerant religious systems, and her warring races, would never be more than a geographical term. Such a thing as national unity was regarded as out of the question. Assertions of this kind are not being made today. The subtle forces of race gravitation and of nationality asserting themselves bid fair to rise above the most adverse distinctions. Who would venture to set limits to such a movement?

India today is awake. In every department of life — politics, education, literature, commerce — we see the signs of the long-delayed Renaissance. The writer obtained his first clear impression of the new outlook of India upon the world she had despised when visiting an interior city of the Deccan, where he was courteously entertained by the Brahman Club. The mere fact of the existence of such an institution was significant. Possibly these high-caste gentlemen felt obliged to undergo certain ablutions after associating with a Western barbarian, but no such thought hindered the most gracious hospitality. At the rear of the club building were tennis courts. Somehow the writer found difficulty in adjusting his mind to the idea of Brahman dignitaries with their flowing robes disporting themselves on a modern tennis court. But there they were, and a most excellent game they played! A greater surprise ensued when the writer listened to the conversation of a group of club members in regard to a journey to England to attend the Coronation. "What! Brahmans leave the country? Isn't that to break caste?"

"Oh, yes," was the laconic reply, "it used to be that

way; but we are getting over such notions. Quite a number of us here are going. In fact, we have chartered a large section of a steamer."

"But how about your food? Will you not be obliged to accept the regular service of the steamer?"

"We have arranged all that satisfactorily," was the response. "We take along our own cooks and servants."

So India, too, has joined the world. Travel where you will in that vast and multifarious land, you find changes taking place affecting the very structure of society. Hitherto the Western civilization, which has been lying at their very doorsteps throughout the long period of British occupation, the Indian leaders have rejected with scornful superiority. Today not only are they adopting this civilization without question, but they are utilizing it to promote their nationalistic program. Equality is being claimed on the basis not of Oriental but of Western standards and ways. The new life of the West is becoming indigenous. It is taking on the tinge of Indian temperament and custom. The signs of a changing life are on every side. In the cities the cotton mill and the department store vie with the temples as features which catch the eye. In the villages the life appears wholly Oriental as to costume, architecture, and the habits of the home; but when the people go on pilgrimages, which they do with great frequency and assiduity, they are eager to use the excellent train service provided by the Government, and when they reach the holy places they think none the less of the gods whose shrines are illumined by British lamps filled with American kerosene.

In the growing demand for universal primary education and in the introduction of science in the courses of their higher schools, we detect a changing mental attitude which is even more significant than the adoption of outward Western ways. Everywhere an internal development is going on under the stimulus of the new environment. "The world flood has swept over our country," says Tagore in his "Nationalism," "new elements have been introduced and wider adjustments are waiting to be made." The mild protest which the Indian poet makes against this tendency serves but to emphasize the extent and power of the movement. "India is right in it," was the way a blunt American described the situation when returning from his travels.

Summing up the Eastern world situation, we find that Asia is demonstrating on a magnificent scale the essential unity of the race. These nations are reminding us of the words of the Psalmist, "From the place of his habitation he looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth. He fashioneth their hearts alike" (Psalm 33 : 15). Writers like Meredith Townsend can argue that the differences between the East and the West are fundamental and that no common life is possible between such extremes of temperament; but the facts overwhelmingly assert the opposite. A common life has already been established; not the life of half the world conquering the other half, but the life of humanity recognizing common standards, attaining common goals.

Isaac Taylor used to call attention to the fact that the three most precious possessions of the Anglo-

Saxon peoples came from the East: our Bible, our Christ, and our alphabet. If this be true, has the West cause for boasting over the East? If this be true, can the East do aught but rejoice that her civilization after its Western development comes back to her so wonderfully enriched?

In all this process we are to recognize that modern inventions, especially those connected with steam and electricity, have been a great factor in tying us up in one bundle. Dr. Sidney Gulick makes a forceful statement of the intertwining process when he says:

"Steam and electricity are abolishing time and space and are making all nations and races immediate neighbors geographically. Science, popular education, travel, commerce, postal facilities, literature, and the press are bringing all mankind toward a common life and a common mind."[3]

This is quite true, yet let us not forget that the basis of race unity lies in the race and not in the inventions and contrivances of any one section of the race. The thing had to be. The races, being made of one blood, were bound to find it out. That they have found it out is a fact of stupendous importance, a fact that should strengthen our hope for the future. To speak of the Renaissance of Asia is much more than a figure. It means that the East and the West, in glorious partnership, gathering from every quarter the best things of life, henceforth are to press towards a common goal.

[3] "A New Era in Human History," p. 4.

FACT II

THE DECADENCE OF THE NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

After the Renaissance the Reformation. As in Europe the intellectual awakening of the fifteenth century led to a reexamination of the grounds of religious belief and practice, resulting in the break with Rome and the rise of Protestantism, so in Asia today we find a rapidly developing movement of doubt and protest in respect to the prevailing religious systems. This movement of late has assumed the proportions of a tidal wave. It is possibly the outstanding fact of the religious world of our time. "The non-Christian religions," says a careful observer, "are being stormed at with the shot and shell of Western science, and they cannot stand the stress of the present-day siege." Another writer goes so far as to say that the Asiatic faiths, without a single exception, are in a moribund condition and some of them are tottering to a fall. The extent of this revolution in the religious thought of the Orient may be best set forth by considering the situation in respect to Japan, China, India, and Moslem lands.

Buddhism Losing Its Hold on Japan

When Dr. Jerome D. Davis, who went out to Japan as a missionary under the American Board in 1871, was returning to his field for what was recognized as

his closing period of service the writer asked him if he had any message to leave with his friends at home. He replied, "Have it clearly in mind that the issue in Japan today is no longer between Christianity and Buddhism, but between Christianity and nothing. Japan has already turned her back on Buddhism and is now seeking for some new basis for faith." This striking generalization, essentially true at the time it was made, should not be pressed today without certain qualifications. Japan's religious progress has been characterized to such an extent by reactions that we should be on our guard against estimating the deeper currents of thought and life by the surface indications at a given time. Just now Buddhism, as represented by the more progressive sects, is taking on new forms of self-consciousness and assertion. Some regard this as a genuine religious revival. Certainly its activities are much in evidence in the leading centers. New and expensive temples have recently been erected, schools flourish in many places, an aggressive propaganda is maintained, and young men, not of the priesthood, are coming to regard the ancestral faith as a cause to be promoted and are showing real devotion in its behalf. It is too soon to estimate the depth and possibilities of this movement, but undoubtedly the younger missionaries are confronting conditions which those of Dr. Davis' era hardly dreamed possible.

When we come to a closer diagnosis it is interesting to find that, to a large extent, the Buddhist revival is based upon a wholesale adoption of the methods of the Christian missionaries. As a recent traveler remarked, "The Japanese are good copyists in religion as in

everything else." There is scarcely an agency the Buddhist monks have employed in their newly acquired zeal which they have not taken over bodily from Christianity, or modeled closely upon Christian methods. We find, for instance, that they are busily engaged in organizing Sunday schools, in which the imitation of our church schools is even carried to the adaptation of Christian hymns. In these schools one hears the youngsters singing with keen relish, if without deep conviction, "Buddha loves me, this I know," "All hail the power of Buddha's name." Of late they have been establishing Buddhist Associations for young men, which they call the "Y.M.B.A." In one instance they did not even change the third initial, but unblushingly announced a "Buddhist Y.M.C.A." Similarly we find them engaging in street preaching and making use of the stereopticon, in fact of every contrivance which Christian missionaries have introduced and found to be effective in their campaigns.

Is this rather slavish imitation a sign of weakness or of strength? That may be said to depend upon the outcome. But one can hardly suppress the thought that a religious movement capable of meeting the deepest needs of the human heart would manifest sufficient vitality to develop its own expressional forms and methods of advance. Leroy Beaulieu in his "Awakening of the East," states that Japan has accepted the entire program of European civilization, barring a few domestic usages, certain traditions of family ancestry, and religion. Rather important exceptions, one is inclined to remark. But just because Japan refused to adopt Western religion in the first

instance, it is the more significant that today her religious leaders are compelled to copy the characteristic forms of the Christian propaganda. After all, the vital thing in Christianity is the Christian spirit, and one may well doubt if any amount of putting on of the forms of our faith is likely to revive the strength of a system which, having dominated Japan for over a thousand years, has failed her so signally in this hour of her moral need. Some one has been bold enough to suggest that Japan will be Christianized through Buddhism being Christianized. This is an interesting opinion, but it is more creditable to the sympathetic quality than to the judgment of the one who made it; since by the common consent of those who are best informed Christianized Buddhism would not be Buddhism at all.

Over against these signs of an awakening consciousness on the part of the Buddhist leaders, we find unmistakable indications of a lessening hold upon public and private life. In various ways the Government has expressed its concern over the low state of morals, arising from what is considered to be the slump in religious belief. With the disintegration of the fabric of the old religious life and the passing of the old-time religious sanctions, the officials discern an increasing laxity in the virtues which underlie a successful state. In this connection attention has been called to the results of a religious census which was recently taken in the Imperial University of Tokio, in which each student was asked to declare his religious position. The outcome, as the following figures show, was fairly startling:

Shintoists	8
Buddhists	50
Christians	60
Atheists	1500
Agnostics	3000
Total	4618

Possibly the terms atheist and agnostic in Japan should be allowed wider latitude than prevails in America. Yet making all due allowance, the overwhelming preponderance of those who have broken with the old systems is impressive. Could anything be more significant? Could anything be more alarming? If Japan, in driving out the evil spirit of superstition, leaves her house empty, swept, and garnished, she must not be surprised if the demon returns with seven other spirits more evil than himself. No Japanese Christian doubts for a moment the direction in which his country must turn for relief.

It was in view of this situation that the Government in 1884 abolished the department of religion which had ceased to be effective as a means of national uplift, and created a Bureau of Religion under the exclusive control of the Minister of Education. If we may not regard this act as a confession of the failure of Shintoism and Buddhism to provide an adequate ethical basis for the national life, it was at least a determination to seek relief in new quarters. Above all, it was a recognition of the prominent place which religion of the strongly ethical type must hold in the national scheme of education.

Equally if not more significant was the calling by the Government in 1904 of a conference of religionists, in

which Christian leaders took their place side by side with Shintoists, Buddhists, and Confucianists. This official recognition of Christianity attracted wide attention, as did also the fact that, while the Buddhist and Shintoist delegates made perfunctory speeches and in other ways revealed their embarrassment, the Christian leaders came to the front with practical suggestions concerning the moral welfare of the people.

Recently an article appeared in the *Japan Magazine* by Enryo Inange, the ex-President of the Oriental University, on "Japan's Religion Over-Seas," in which we detect the characteristic attitude of not a few thoughtful Japanese toward their leading faith. Admitting the decadent condition of Buddhism and calling attention to the success of Christian missionary methods, this writer naively proposes that they solve two difficulties at once, the need of more foreign trade and of a religious reverence, by sending Buddhist missionaries to Christian countries. He has convinced himself that the missionaries are the precursors of commerce. Therefore, since Japan needs commerce, she must equip herself with missionaries. The proposition is seriously made, and we could wish it might be tried, not as promising large material gains, but as a demonstration whether or not Japanese Buddhism has the vitality to attempt the conquest of the world. More frankly a Japanese paper, the *Karisuto Kyo Hoko*, in discussing religion after the War, takes the ground that there is no hope of Buddhism leading new Japan into the vital spiritual life which she needs. The editor considers whether Buddhism is capable of such a transformation as will empower it for the new task.

He concludes that a revival of Buddhism "is hardly within the range of possibilities." To his mind it is not so much a question of disposition as of the fundamental teachings of the Buddhist scriptures, which he finds to be antagonistic to the present life.

The evidence from both foreign and native sources might be accumulated indefinitely, but to those who know the heart of Japan the case does not call for extended argument. Dr. Davis' characterization of the religious situation remains true as to the deeper and more permanent currents of national life. Japan has had her Renaissance and is attempting a Reformation. She has carried her Renaissance to success because she committed herself to a process involving a complete break with the past. The day will come when she will take the same heroic attitude toward her outworn religious systems. Her modernization will not be complete until she discovers that Christianity is the essential element in the new civilization which she has taken over from the West.

The Waning of the Old Faiths in China

In China we have much the same situation, only on a larger scale, and in a more acute stage of development. Here it is a question not of 50,000,000 but of 400,000,000 people turning from the religious ideas which have dominated the national life for thousands of years. The Chinese are more practical than other Asiatics; less given to sentiment, more to the considerations which make for personal advantage. They are the pragmatists of the East. Their veneration for the past is deeply ingrained, but it is not proof against the

argument of daily life. The Great Earth-Spirit was supposed to object to the building of railroads; in fact, to any disturbance of the soil which might interfere with his prestige and comfort. Who can say how many decades of progress China has missed because of this one superstition? Yet today railroads are being built in every direction. The Chinese made short shrift of the idea when once he suspected that it stood between him and his commercial advantage. From that position it was but a step to the belief that the whole thing was a silly myth.

One clear sign of the religious decadence which has set in is the ease with which hundreds of communities have seen their temples converted into schools. Early in the process of establishing public schools, the Government adopted the policy of seizing any temple which might be convenient and by a few simple improvements transforming it into a schoolhouse. At first pains were taken not to offend the religious prejudices of the local population, and thus the idols were simply removed to one side of the room or placed behind a seemly partition. Any oldtime worshiper who wished to knock his head on the floor in front of an image could do so between sessions, or, by being very quiet about it, while school was going on. It was found, however, that the eagerness for modern education was such that no particular provision need be made for the temple gods. Accordingly the deities began to be treated with little ceremony, and finally to be regarded as obstructions to the national movement. The story comes of one community in which the idols were placed in a row along the wall outside the temple, where they

caught the drippings from the roof and rapidly disintegrated under the elements. In another town, in their zeal for education the people piled the wooden images in the market-place and, setting fire to them, watched their deities go up in flames and smoke. In an exceedingly radical village the images were calmly dumped in the river, while the people lined the banks and cheered as their gods floated out to the sea — so glad were they to have a school.

These are not isolated or unusual instances. They are typical of what has been happening in many parts of this ancient land. In not a few cases the local officials have taken the initiative and, seizing some temple little used or falling into disrepair, have offered it to a mission board for educational purposes, with full freedom as to teaching the Bible and Christian truths. A village in Shantung not only passed over to the American Board its finest temple, but also the temple endowments for the maintenance of the school, these being the rentals of certain shops in the bazaar. In a village in the Fukien province the Buddhist priests joined in urging the missionaries to send them a teacher and to make free use of their temple. When the school was organized several of the priests joined the classes. The significance of this disregard of their sanctuaries cannot be mistaken.

Of late certain plays have been popular in the Chinese theaters which make a point of ridiculing the worship of idols, quite in the spirit of the forty-fourth chapter of Isaiah and the one hundred and fifteenth Psalm. These plays are not the result of any missionary propaganda or suggestion, but are the spontaneous

expression of the prevailing thought of the hour. The Chinese, among other excellent things, is a humorist, and he even manages to enjoy the fun which the actors make at the expense of the venerable gods.

Of more value, however, is the evidence arising from the attempt of the recent Parliament to adopt Confucianism as a national religion. The movement looking to an official recognition of China's most characteristic faith — if indeed we can call Confucianism a faith — was backed in exceedingly influential quarters and was engineered with great skill. The combination against the project, however, in which native Christians took the leading part, was too strong. China's Christian leaders united with the others in honoring the teachings of Confucius as of great ethical value. They advocated the use of them in both public and mission schools as a textbook of ethics and of pure classical forms, but in the matter of opposing the establishment of Confucianism as the official religion they were supported by the best public sentiment and so won the day.

The surest evidence of all arises from the feeling on the part of an increasing number of patriotic leaders that China's supreme need is a better religion. The old faiths had their chance and they failed China in her hour of need. Men of this class talk freely with missionaries and educators, confessing their disappointment not only with their religious institutions but with the whole scheme of educational and economic improvement, through which they hoped to achieve the prestige and might of the West. At the beginning of the modern movement, before the Manchus were

expelled, China's greatest viceroy, Chang Chih-Tung, wrote his famous book, "China's Only Hope," which was said to reach a circulation of over a million. This work, beyond any other influence, was instrumental in bringing about the reforms which followed the Boxer fiasco. It was a well-reasoned and impassioned appeal for a new system of education based upon Western science, but not excluding the Chinese classics. Thanks to Chang Chih-Tung and other enlightened leaders, China now has her modern schools, yet the country remains as helpless as she was in 1900. Lacking in intelligent patriotism, the prey to selfish ambition and official greed, the republic floats like a rudderless hulk on the political seas. No wonder there are an increasing number who think that China's "Only Hope" lies beyond instruction in science and economics. A prominent official, in talking with a visitor from the West, recently summed it all up by remarking, "We must go deeper to find the secret of Christian civilization; it is clear that we must study your sacred books as well as your democratic institutions and your systems of trade and education."

Signs of Decadence in India

The signs of religious decline in India are not so apparent as in the lands which have been named. They lie less upon the surface; they relate more to the atmosphere of society than to changing customs and institutions. Observant travelers speak of the fact that Christian ideals have penetrated far deeper into the Hindu consciousness than has been supposed. On every side one detects the lessening hold of Hinduism

as a system of thought, and the unconscious absorption of the Christian point of view.

Yet we are not without definite signs of decay. Prof. James Bissell Pratt, of Williams College, in his delightful book, "India and her Faiths," tells of an enthusiastic Brahman whom he met on a train and who stopped in the midst of an exposition of the Bhagavadgita to quench his thirst with a bottle of soda-water, which he had purchased from a low-caste dealer in the station. When he was asked how he reconciled this with the strong belief he had expressed in the good old customs of the country, he replied, "You see, there are no other Brahmans about."

The steady, perhaps we should say the rapid, breaking down of caste implies the disintegration of Hinduism's characteristic institution. If the heartlessness of caste has not impressed the Brahman mind, the impracticability of the system under the conditions of modern life is too apparent to be denied. While transportation and commerce are working havoc with this obnoxious social system, the government and mission schools are undermining the very structure of Hindu belief. Polytheism and idolatry rarely survive the sixth grade of the modern school. The student who pursues scientific and historical courses in the college shakes off his ancestral faith by an inevitable process. The reform associations, of which we hear so much, and of which there are nearly two score varieties, must be regarded as disintegrating forces so far as the Hindu system is concerned. Movements like the Brahmo-Somaj, the Arya-Somaj, and the Friends of India, have many admirable characteristics; some of

them offer ground for encouragement as to improved social conditions; but it cannot be concealed that their adherents have broken radically with the past. For this reason we find these reforms opposed bitterly by the religious leaders. In line with this interpretation of the situation a movement has been launched recently for the purpose of maintaining that Hinduism should be considered to include all who so class themselves, without regard to belief or practice or birth. This would be little less than bowing themselves off the scene.

In commenting upon the recent organization of a society for the expansion of Hinduism, the *Dnyanodaya*, a prominent Christian paper, characterizes the religious situtation in these words:

"This movement is a typical illustration of a steady disintegration of Hinduism, under the environment of the age spirit which cares little for any external authority and which is permeated with the spirit of social unity. A more fluid, systemless religion, one less fitted to call out heroic virtues and intense devotion, could hardly be conceived. Its essence may be summed up in two short phrases, 'Think and believe what you please; do what you please.' It has no great person to be its hero, its ideal, its authority, its inspiring leader; no inspiring book; no brief creed to crystallize and express its principles; no ethical standard or requirements; no quickening of conscience; no discipline; no judgment bar; no program for hopefulness to its followers or to the world; no gospel of love; no summons to self-sacrifice; no bugle call to devotion; no organization to train and to inspire its members; no promise of temporal or eternal reward."

Mohammedanism Crumbling

A recent number of *The Moslem World* conveys the information that a modern newspaper is now published in Mecca containing the latest telegrams and Marconigrams on the news of the outside world. This, in the city of the Kaaba and of the sacred pilgrimage, from which unbelievers are rigidly excluded, is an epoch-marking event. Could anything better illustrate the crumbling of Mohammedan exclusiveness? Christians may be shut out from the sacred city upon penalty of death; but the events of the Christian world pour in over the wire and through the ether. The contents of this Mecca journal are no less significant than the fact of its publication. Among the articles we find one on the weakness of Islam and its causes, in which the writer attributes the rapid advance of the Moslem power in the early days to the religious factor, and asserts that the desertion by Moslems of the fundamentals of their religion and their departure from Moslem culture is the primary cause of Islamic decadence. The paper bitterly attacks the Turkish régime and holds the Committee of Union and Progress at Constantinople responsible not only for the shattering of the solidarity of Islam politically, but for the weakness of their religion in the face of the encircling world.

The publication of utterances like these reveals the change which has come over the Mohammedan world since August, 1914. Before the War the signs of a crumbling faith were restricted to individuals here and there who had taken courses in mission colleges, or who

in other ways had come under the influence of Western culture. Today the very citadel of Islam is rocking on its foundations. Turkey's entry into the War is regarded by Moslems of other lands as of fateful significance. They recognize that the solidarity of Islam is now a thing of the past. It was shattered by what they regard as Ottoman treachery. It is to be recalled that Moslems have been accustomed to regard Turkey, their one remaining political power, whose sultan was their caliph, as the guardian and protector of their interests throughout the world. Yet they beheld this country, from purely selfish considerations, betraying them to the one power they have dreaded above all others. In the protests which arose from the faithful in every part of the Moslem world, from Morocco to China, we recognize the repudiation of Turkey's claim to the leadership of the Mohammedan hosts. The Grand Sharif of Mecca took immediate advantage of the situation to declare the complete independence of Arabia from Ottoman control and to join with the Allies in the subjugation of Palestine and Syria.

An incident in a Turkish city, occurring in the fall of 1914 and reported by a creditable witness, illustrates how violent was the reaction of India Moslems at that time. A company of Moslem merchants from India had been interned as British subjects. After several weeks of restraint they were offered their liberty on condition that they renounce their allegiance to Great Britain and become citizens of the Turkish Empire. This they emphatically refused to do. Three weeks later, after undergoing trying experiences in the prison, the offer was renewed with significant emphasis.

Thereupon these Indian Moslems replied, "*We might change our religion, but we will never change our nationality.*"

Especially did the Holy War, or *Jehad*, proclaimed by Sultan Mohammed Fifth, work for the undoing of Islam and incidentally for the discomfiting of German plans. Turkey was drawn into the War in the expectation that the *Jehad* would detach Egypt from England and disrupt the Indian Empire. It proved to be a veritable boomerang. The Turkish army, intended to be the vanguard in the war upon Christians throughout the world, was composed not only of Turks but of Armenians, Greeks, Jews, and representatives of many sects. The *Jehad* was aimed at Christian England and intended to benefit Protestant Germany and Catholic Austria. How were the Faithful to know friend from foe? The absurdity of the thing was recognized from the first. It is an impressive fact that of all the Moslem rulers only Sultan Ali, of Darfur in the Sudan, followed the lead of the caliph. Ali's little rebellion was speedily snuffed out by Sir Reginald Wingate's expedition from Khartum.

There are no Moslem states today. Turkey's political existence has ended; all the others are dependencies of Great Britain, France, or Italy. The vast domain of the caliphs, which in the time of Suliman the Magnificent exceeded the Roman Empire in extent, has reached the vanishing point in our day. And Turkey has only herself to blame.

With the crumbling of political power, the religious prestige and the proud boast of this religion are beginning to give way. The old-time Moslem held his head

high. He was proud of his religion and satisfied with it; he believed it to be the one true faith, destined to conquer the earth. Today his spirit is crushed within him. "Mecca is gone, Medina is gone, Cairo is gone, Bagdad is gone, Jerusalem is gone, Damascus is gone, even Constantinople is gone. What," he asks, "remains?"

The particular effect these disasters will have upon Mohammedanism as a religious system may be a matter for debate. Certain fanatical orders, like the Senussi of the Sahara Desert, which have never yielded full loyalty to the Turkish régime, may lose little of their intensity and passion. In recent years the Moslem merchant-missionaries of the Sudan have been active in winning over the pagan tribes of Central Africa. This burst of religious zeal, which is attracting the attention of the missionary world, arises from a complicated situation which cannot be discussed here; but no one has been able to connect it up with any organized propaganda from Moslem centers. It undoubtedly is largely commercial in motive. In any event, the movement is independent of the forces which are shaping Moslem thought and activity in other parts of the world. Quite likely this African propaganda will in no wise be affected by the breakdown of Mohammedanism in the more settled parts of the world.

It may be argued by some that political disruption will be an advantage to Islam, in that reform movements will be instituted, a new passion and self-consciousness be developed, and that in the end there will be a recovery if not an increase in prestige and power.

That is conceivable, particularly if we limit our forecast to certain localities like India or the North African states. But that as a universal system, as the acknowledged rival of Christianity for the possession of the earth, Islam can survive the loss of solidarity and political prestige, would be a difficult proposition to maintain.

If this diagnosis of the situation appears to the reader to be over optimistic he will do well to ponder a statement of the case from high Mohammedan authorities, as reported by Dr. James L. Barton in his recent book, "The Christian Approach to Islam." Dr. Barton has this to say:

In 1899, a company of delegates from the Moslem world assembled in Mecca and gave fourteen days to discussing the causes for the decay of Islam. Fifty-seven reasons were given, including fatalism, the opposition of science, the rejection of religious liberty, neglect of education, and inactivity due to the hopelessness of the cause itself. A leading Moslem editor in India wrote in 1914: "We see that neither wealth nor education nor political power can enable the Muslims to achieve their national salvation. Where then lies the remedy? Before seeking the remedy we must ascertain the disease. But the Muslims are not diseased, they have reached a worse stage. A diseased man has still life in him." [1]

Mohammedanism has worked out badly for the world. It stands discredited among the enlightened people of the earth. No tears are being shed over its sorry plight today. If it goes the way of the other faiths which are buttressed by ignorance and which

[1] "The Christian Approach to Islam," p. 182.

separate morality from religion, then the tale of decadent non-Christianity will be complete.

In a discussion of this kind it is incumbent upon us to maintain not only a fair but a friendly attitude towards the adherents of other religions. The address of St. Paul at Athens, which has been called the model missionary sermon, and the comment of St. Peter in the house of Cornelius, leave the Christian in no doubt as to the duty of a sympathetic approach to all questions relating to pagan or non-Christian belief. The question before us, however, is one of fact and not of favor. Be as sympathetic as we may in view of the commendable qualities in the other religions, we cannot blink the fact of their proven inadequacy or fail to rejoice over any movement which results in a healthy state of dissatisfaction.

That the trend is strongly in that direction would seem to be established. As we survey the facts throughout the world we find that the religions which oppose Christianity or stand in its way are disintegrating under our eyes. This is an event of stupendous significance. It affects two-thirds of the earth's population. It affects this population in respect to the most fundamental thing in life. Religion, as the non-Christian people have known it, is slipping from under their feet. There is possible only one other greater event, the actual winning of the non-Christian world to the religion of Jesus Christ, the

> "One far-off divine event
> To which the whole creation moves."

Only it may not be as far off as some people suppose.

FACT III

THE RAPID EXTENSION OF CHRISTIANITY

The conditions set forth under Facts I and II would seem to provide an exceedingly favorable opportunity for the spread of the Christian religion, and this proves to be the case. It is the kind of an opportunity which comes as the direct fruitage of labor rather than through a chance concurrence of events. Commerce, invention, travel, foreign education, books, the press, diplomacy, war, and missions all have had a hand in bringing about the extraordinary world situation which confronts us today. But of missions alone can we affirm that they exist for the express purpose of leading the people of the East into a higher life, and that, in accordance with such a purpose, they have sought to present only that which is constructive and good of Western thought and achievement. In motive and in method the missionary propaganda has led all the forces of civilization which make for a better world. The Christian extension movement has now reached the point where we may class it among the supreme facts of history.

World Statistics of Christianity

Statistically stated, Christianity is far in the lead of all the other faiths. Following the most recent authority (Atlas Hierarchus-Streit, 1913) the distribution of the world's population religiously is as follows:

Population of the Globe	1,650,000,000	
Christians	635,250,000 or 38	per cent
Confucianists and Taoists	257,400,000 or 15.6	"
Hindus	222,750,000 or 13.5	"
Mohammedans	221,100,000 or 13.4	"
Buddhists	133,650,000 or 8.1	"
Animists	100,650,000 or 6.1	"
Shintoists[1]	52,800,000 or 3.2	"
Jews	11,550,000 or .7	"
Unclassified	14,850,000 or .9	"

If figures are determinative, it will be seen that Christianity easily leads the list. But recalling Emerson's remark that the religion which relies upon statistics is doomed, and having in mind that at best figures which deal with the entire world are a studied guess, considering also that certain nations counting themselves Christian are so hardly more than in name, we would not push tabulations like the above over far. Of more comfort is it to find that in the matter of pervasiveness Christianity is in a class by itself. Buddhism and Mohammedanism are the only other religions which claim to be missionary in character. Shintoism is a cult for the Japanese. Confucianism considers itself a philosophy of life, rather than a religion. Hinduism makes religion a matter of birth in Hindustan. The Jews have lost their ancient vision of universality. The animistic faiths are content if they can deal successfully with the local demons.

[1] This authority classes Japan mainly as Shintoist. Most authorities consider Japan as Buddhist. The Japanese Government objects to any religious classification.

Christianity, seeking comparison alone with Buddhism and Mohammedanism, has no occasion to hang her head. Buddhism, with its doctrine of no God and with its pessimistic outlook upon life, has vanished from India, its original home, but pervades Eastern Asia and Japan. There it appears to have come to a full stop. Mohammedanism, with its doctrine of an exclusive and impossible God, progressed with astonishing rapidity in the days of Christian decline, until it dominated Western Asia and Northern Africa and threatened the civilization of Europe. Today we find it not only a receding force, but increasingly doubtful of its own mission.

Christianity, whatever weakness it may reveal in certain areas and under certain forms of organization, is demonstrated to be a world-conquering faith. Few and remote are the lands where its message has not gone, and where there is not abundant evidence of its power to transform individual character and to build a civilization of enlightenment and power. So far as evangelization is concerned, the work is now well advanced toward completion. As for the various constructive processes, which we sum up under the word Christianization, the outlook was never brighter than today. Christian people, however, should realize far more than they do, the speeding up of the process during the past quarter of a century. It is the rapidity of the advance in the face of a ready world that should command the attention of the Church. No longer do we appear to be making imperceptible progress against insuperable odds. Pressing ahead on every front, the Christian forces find themselves in the full flush of

victory. A new spirit and vision have come to the followers of Christ in our day, resulting in a forward movement, such as the Church has not seen since apostolic times. This, we maintain, is one of the outstanding facts in the world situation.

The Awakening in India

The sweep of Christianity through the world reveals itself impressively as we consider the leading nations to which the message has gone. Let us begin where the modern missionary movement began, with India, that citadel of polytheism and idolatry, where the gods outnumber the people, and where too often worship is the most degrading exercise in which a man can engage. A personal experience which came to the writer and a friend in 1911 offers a convenient point of departure, as suggesting a comparison between what existed a little over one hundred years ago and what we find today.

In the winter of that year we had the privilege of visiting Serampore, on the lower Ganges, where William Carey began his labors, and where a great college stands as his memorial. Facing the river and within a stone's throw of the water's edge is Carey's house. In the yard at the rear is his tomb. After visiting these spots, peculiarly sacred to the student of modern missions, President Hall of the college conducted us to the river's side and pointed out the place where the first convert was baptized. That was in 1800. He related how, throughout the ceremony, Carey listened to the moanings, in the house near by, of his wife, who had lost her reason through loneliness in that far-away

land, and how his ears were filled with the ravings of his missionary associate, delirious with joy *because they had at last made one convert.*

Imagine one's feelings in such a place! The writer found himself saying, "What must be Carey's thoughts today if he knows of the millions of souls which have been gathered into the Church during the past hundred years!" An aged native pastor, coming upon the scene, joined the group and said he clearly remembered Carey from his boyhood days; and, by way of confirming the claim, he proceeded to narrate a characteristic incident in the life of the great missionary pioneer. One life spanning the period between the man whom Sydney Smith in the *Edinburgh Review* ridiculed as the "Consecrated Cobbler" and the great achievements of our day!

In the year of our visit the British Government was taking the census which astonished the world by its revelation of Christian progress in the Punjab and United Provinces. The census revealed that in the areas where the mass movements had appeared the gain for the decade had been over 400 per cent. The result was a surprise even to the missionaries. Few of them had realized the latent discontent with Hinduism and the widespread desire for the better things which Christianity had to offer. A certain missionary of the Methodist Board was asked by an official to estimate the number of Christians in his district which the census would reveal. When he suggested 10,000 the official scouted the idea as preposterous. The tabulated returns revealed 18,000 Christians in that district alone.

The year 1911, however, seems a long way back when we consider the progress of Christianity in North India. Today it is estimated that the mass movement has doubled in volume since the census, and that during the five years succeeding it 10,000 persons monthly have been baptized by Protestant missionaries generally throughout the land. Attention has been called to the fact that the Methodist Mission has been obliged to refuse 160,000 persons who were asking for Christian instruction owing to the lack of teachers, and that they have 60,000 boys and girls for whom there is no prospect of schooling. This denomination, for a time fairly bewildered by such success, today is organizing a movement for enrolling 1000 converts a week in its North India missions, while at the same time it seeks a large sum of money for the financing of the educational and evangelistic agencies which are involved.

Bishop Warne has been thrilling American audiences by describing the training conferences for Indian *Chaudries*, or village headmen, who are brought together for the purpose of learning how they may instruct their people in Christian truth and lead them into the Church. At one of these conferences, he states over two hundred *Chaudries* were in attendance. The method adopted was to teach orally the stories of the New Testament and then have the *Chaudries* rehearse these before the others. The Oriental touch which they were able to give to the familiar incidents in the life of Christ filled the missionaries with delight. By several of these unlettered men the story of the crucifixion was told with such vividness that the

audience would sway and moan and cry out, "It was because of our sin."

This Indian movement, we are assured, is not a mere tidal wave of emotionalism, nor is it based upon a seeking of Christian fellowship for the sake of the practical benefits to be obtained. It has its dangers in those directions, as missionary leaders are well aware, and safeguards in the way of Bible training and probationary periods are scrupulously enforced. Repeated investigations confirm the depth and genuineness of this awakening. The new converts persist, in spite of the scorn and frequent persecution arising from their heathen neighbors. They make sacrifices of money and time, which would put to shame many a church in the West. They stand up well under all the tests of sincerity and endurance.

When we come to other parts of India, such as Bengal, the Marathi country in the west, and the great southern section, we find that the progress is not as rapid as in the north. Yet the movement is sufficiently strong to create a special problem of success. The person who imagines that the efforts of the Indian missionaries are put forth in the hope that occasionally they may make one or two converts, snatching them like brands from the burning, is sadly behind the times. He is thinking in terms of one hundred years ago. The problem of the missionary today is not so much how he may make converts as how he may care for the mass of converts when they are made. It is the problem of training rather than of persuasion.

Signs are increasing which indicate incipient mass movements in Western India and also in the Tamil

country in the south. In these sections, where hitherto the resistance has been peculiarly strong, large social groups and even entire villages are asking to have Christian teachers located in their midst; occasionally villages come over bodily into the Christian camp. It will not be surprising if within a few years the movement in the Punjab spreads in every direction. The census of 1911 recorded a gain for Christianity of thirty-one per cent for the decade throughout the Indian Empire, which meant the adding of a round million to the Church. In view of the fact that in the same period the population increased only six per cent this is a favorable showing. The point is, however, that in practically every section the rate of increase is rising so rapidly that the 1911 figures cease to be significant. Today the Christian population is estimated by some as 4,000,000, and by others as 5,000,000.

It was Bishop Whitehead of Madras who, in the interest of the Anglican Church, made a tour in the north in order to investigate the remarkable reports which were being sent out by the American Methodists and Presbyterians, and who, becoming satisfied as to their genuineness and significance, started for England in order to stir up the church of his own connection. In the year before the War he traveled through Great Britain giving addresses in the cathedrals and leading churches, and the burden of his message was: "The supreme duty of the hour for the Church of England is to prepare for the landslide which is upon us in India." He maintained that 50,000,000 outcastes are knocking at the door of the Christian Church. Undoubtedly the Bishop would attempt to state the case even more

strongly today, in view of favorable conditions arising from the War, since not only for the outcastes but for the middle class population a work of vast proportions impends.

Marks of Progress in China

Twice within three years the Protestant Mission Boards, operating in China, have joined forces through their "Continuation Committee" for evangelistic campaigns in the great cities. Each time the chosen leader was Dr. George Sherwood Eddy, the General Secretary for Asia of the Young Men's Christian Association. The effort in the first instance was directed to the official class, and to the literati and gentry of the cities. As a result of meetings held in Peking, Foochow, Canton, and ten other centers, for which the friendly Government afforded special opportunities — even going so far as to erect a temporary convention hall in Peking — a large number of educated men, approximately 18,000, signed cards enrolling themselves in classes for the study of the Christian truth. Many of the governing class accepted Christianity on the spot, but more were content to study the "sacred books" of our religion before taking a definite stand.

Thus it will be seen how like and yet unlike that in India is the situation in the Chinese Republic. We find a similar widespread dissatisfaction with the past and a like eager looking to the faith of the West for relief; but while in India the awakening is among the pariahs, the lowliest of the low, in China it is the men of education and social position who are seeking the truth.

We read of one missionary who spends his entire time Saturdays and Sundays in conducting Bible classes for the literati, there being thirteen of these groups which come to him for instruction. Another missionary has captured the government normal school of his district, the students attending his class in a body. An American worker in Paotingfu, the West Point of China, on Sundays leads two hundred future army officers in the study of the Scripture. He reports 2,500 persons in the vicinity seeking admission to the Church.

The second campaign, which was conducted in the winter of 1918, was directed to bringing the members of these Bible classes to a definite decision for Christ. The result has been highly gratifying, the more so as hundreds of officials have become interested in the idea that Christianity might become the solution of China's vexed political and economic problem. At Canton seventy government officials, editors, and educators, met Dr. Eddy to discuss the national situation in the light of Christian truth and history. Sun Yat Sen, the liberator of China from the Manchu dynasty, and the first provisional president of the Republic, was present and brought one hundred of his officers to hear Dr. Eddy discuss Christianity and China's needs. Several of the officials, including a member of Parliament, then and there made a confession of Christ. Twelve hundred Chinese Christians in Canton held a daily meeting for prayer and training in personal work while the campaign was in progress. Incidentally the native church was infused with a new spirit of evangelism. Everywhere the emphasis was

placed upon the need of a witnessing church, on the theory that China must be won to Christ by the Chinese.

One who was present at the closing session in Canton reports the scene as follows: "The Chinese pastors of the twenty-eight local churches were seated on the platform. As the name of each church was called, the pastor rose, then his workers in the audience, then the new converts who had been won by them or who had made the decision for Christ during the week. What an inspiring sight it was to see each pastor lead out his little flock of twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty to begin their weekly Bible class and to extend the work of winning the millions of China one by one."

For a contrast go back to the days of Robert Morrison the first Protestant missionary to China, who landed in Canton in 1807. For thirty-four years Morrison lived and preached, using Canton and Macao as a base, insulted in public, beaten by his own servants, often in danger of his life. After seven years he was able to claim one convert, a native by the name of Toai-A-Ko. After twenty-eight years more, as the result of the arduous labors of himself and colleagues, he was able to point to five additional converts. Six church members for thirty-four years of work! And today we see the government officials welcoming the missionary leaders and sitting at their feet to learn the "Jesus Way." We see a Chinese Church spreading rapidly throughout the eighteen provinces, and multitudes of outsiders looking to that Church as the best hope of their country. We see the missionaries, formerly known as "foreign devils," addressing patriotic

gatherings in the market-place, and the churches becoming schools of national reform.

At the centenary celebration of Morrison's arrival, which was held at Shanghai in 1907, the results of the century's progress were tabulated both as to church members and the Protestant missionary force. The showing was as follows:

Increase in Church Members

1843	6
1853	350
1860	960
1876	1,300
1889	37,000
1900	113,000
1906	178,200

In the year 1900 not less than 16,000 native Christians suffered martyrdom as a result of the Boxer uprising. This loss was made up during the next six years and 65,200 additional converts secured. The Protestant church membership in 1918 is estimated as 300,000, the Protestant community is figured at 700,000. Christians are found located in 7,000 different places throughout the Republic.

As to the growth in the missionary forces, the record runs as follows:

Increase in Missionaries

1842	20
1860	120
1876	473
1890	1,296
1900	2,785
1901	3,833
1917	5,744

Professor Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, whose book, "The Changing Chinese," many have read with delight, pays a striking tribute to the success of the missionary propaganda when he says: "The most penetrating Western things in China are the Gospel, kerosene, and cigarettes, and I am glad that as between light, heat, and smoke the prophet of light gets into the country first." One of these "prophets of light" has recently given it as his conviction that we are on the eve of a genuine mass movement towards Christianity on the part of the Chinese educated classes, and he appeals to the American Church to rise to the realization of what is offered her in the Far East. "China," he says, "can be had for the asking."

World-Wide Success

It should not be necessary to accumulate evidence from every land into which the modern missionary has penetrated. But lest it be suspected that only the high points of success have been selected, it may be added that the favorable conditions which exist in India and China are paralleled with more or less distinctness in other sections of the globe. Ten years ago we heard much of the rapid progress of Christianity in Chosen (Korea). We were told that the Chosen Church laid it down as a rule for admission that an applicant should have won at least one person to Christ, and how, as a result of the great evangelistic wave which was engendered, pentecostal movements were the order of the day. Descriptions came in those days of prayer meetings which statedly numbered from 1,500 to 2,000 persons. Of late, owing to political

changes and disturbances, we are hearing less from that quarter of the world; but the good work still goes on. Bishop Welch estimates that throughout the peninsula there has been an average of one convert an hour, day and night, since the missionaries began work. In a recent article in the *Review of Reviews* by Mr. Willard Price, the statement is made that there are 3,000 new converts every week.

In Japan, the rapid increase in the population makes the rate of Christian progress appear small, but the three-years' evangelistic campaign recently finished yielded large returns and put a new spirit of hope and courage into the forces of Christianity. Christian leaders connected with the Church and the Young Men's Christian Association are making themselves felt increasingly in public life and in philanthropic and educational reform.

Nor need we limit our survey to the Farther East. Africa "is coming strong" in these days, with Uganda emerging as a Christian nation in the heart of the continent, where the forces of Islam are plainly routed and the church population now outnumbers the pagans. Kamerun, where the American Presbyterians are conducting a superb work, bids fair to become a second Uganda. In the Bulu country we read of single communion services attended by 8,000 native Christians. Africa, too, has her mass movements, since on the Congo whole villages and tribes are seeking Christian instruction.

The story of Christian progress in the Philippines makes one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the Church. Since the American occupation

began in 1898 the missionary societies from the United States have enrolled over 50,000 members, and the prospects were never brighter than today.

Causes of the Christian Advance

The significance of the rapid extension of Christianity in our times is enhanced when we consider the leading causes which have been operative, and which, humanly speaking, account for the splendid result. These may be summed up under nine heads.

1. Beginning with that which is deepest, we name the heart hunger of the nations. Above all things the Oriental is religious. Religion is the very substance of his life, and when the system upon which he has depended slips from under his feet he turns naturally toward the best substitute at hand. A Chinese in America, upon hearing an address which referred to the deserted temples of his country, remarked, "Yes, that is true, and more than that the heart of the Chinese is an empty shrine." Ambassador Reinsch states that the most fundamental thing he has found in the East is the longing of the people for a personal, friendly, eternal, and universal Power.

2. A close second to the above is the proved value of Christianity in the matter of virtuous character. "By their fruits ye shall know them" is a compelling argument in every part of the world. A recent publication calls attention to the fact that presidents and teachers of government schools in the East have been reiterating the testimony of former years to the effect that the old religions do not sustain the character of their students, that the new patriotism does not do it, "for

it flares and wanes and selfish interests ever recur." "What is needed," they say, "is a force to stay the characters of men in a changing civilization, and to center their unselfish thought on their country's need."

3. A kindred consideration, which bulks large in the non-Christian mind, is the full-orbed manhood which is the product of the Christian life. Avoiding indulgence in selfish and fleshly pleasure on the one hand and the dwarfing effect of asceticism on the other, the missionaries and their converts present to the communities in which they live the example of normal, joyous living. Chang Poling, the well-known educator of Tientsin, who stands in the front rank of Chinese Christian leaders, attributes his attraction to Christianity to the meeting of a group of missionaries on their way to the tennis field. It happened that at that time his heart was full of pessimism and gloom, in view of the apparent hopelessness of the Chinese political situation. On account of what appeared to him to be an impossible outlook, he was considering the organization of a society which should have as its aim the gradual elimination of the population through voluntary celibacy. Being in this state, he could not but contrast his frame of mind with that of the missionary group. "See those Christians," he said to himself. "They are full of laughter and joy; they exchange jokes; they are on their way to play tennis. Where do they get this spirit of joy? Perhaps there is something in their lives which I do not possess. I must look into this religion of theirs." And so he sought an interview, and, as a result, became not

only a radiant and enthusiastic Christian, but a passionate advocate of Christianity as the hope of his country.

4. A cause which carries weight with many is the acknowledged prestige and power of the nations of the West. Beaulieu maintains that Japan fifty years ago passed by Christianity in her adoption of Western culture because of her impression that religion had ceased to be a determining factor in the life of the Western world. There are many in Japan and other parts of Asia today who are too intelligent to class religion among the spent forces of the world. These thinkers recognize that the progressive nations are Christian in profession and ideal. Desiring to be found in this class, it is not surprising that they feel kindly disposed toward the religion of the West.

5. The value of missionary work as a means of social improvement has made a deep impression upon the East. Where the chapel and the preaching service have gained small attention, the school, the hospital, the industrial institution, and the printing press have elicited the plaudits of the leaders who wish their people to rise in the scale of civilization and morals. Says Tyler Dennett in his recent book, "The Democratic Movement in Asia," "Never shall I forget a frank conversation which I had in his palace with His Highness, the Gaekwar of Baroda. He told me of some of the measures which he has already introduced for the betterment of his subjects, and of the difficulties which he had encountered. His admiration for things American is so unqualified as to be almost naive, but I think I was most of all impressed when he said, 'I

am thinking of calling together the missionaries and asking them to tell me their views on how we can improve the quality of the native priesthood. Then I want to call the priests together and say to them, 'Look at the missionaries. See the sacrifices they are making to help our people. You ought to go out and do the same kind of work.'"

6. Kindred to the last consideration is the higher social standing which communities acquire as a result of their Christian connection. When the Gospel finds a lodgment in a humble village of India or Africa the inhabitants begin to hold up their heads; they assume an attitude of self-respect and thus proclaim themselves as members of a higher civilization. When schools are organized and the young people learn to read and write and books begin to circulate, the impression made upon heathen neighbors is unmistakable. Persecution may set in for a season, but eventually admiration takes its place. This is particularly true of India, where the social standing of the Christian villages is increasing by leaps and bounds, and where the heathen communities are beginning to inquire about the power which can produce such an astonishing change.

7. A potent reason is the increasing realization by Orientals that Christianity is not to be considered as an exotic, an importation from the antagonistic West; but that, originating in the East, it has become the common possession of the race. The idea that a man who accepts Christianity thereby denationalizes himself is rapidly disappearing. The ideal of the progressive missionary is happily expressed by the

phrase coined by Professor Edward C. Moore of Harvard, "The Naturalization of Christianity in the Far East."

8. A cause of success which has proved to be of incalculable advantage, but which is little appreciated among the home churches, is the development of a science of missions. For over one hundred years scholarly men and women of high purpose, the product of our best educational institutions, have been studying the principles underlying successful propaganda and trying out the methods best adapted to forwarding the Christian movement among non-Christian people. When we recall the men who have made large contributions to missionary theory and practice, such as Carey, Judson, Duff in India; Morrison, Williams, Martin in China; Verbeck, Hepburn, Davis in Japan; Riggs, Hamlin, Bliss in Turkey; Moffat, Livingstone, Mackay, Stewart in Africa; Patteson, Chalmers, Paton, and Bingham in Australasia, it s to build a list of giant personalities. These men were as able and devoted Christians as the Church of Europe and America has produced. It would have been surprising indeed if from the investigations and labors of men like these a method of procedure, based upon sound principles, had not arisen worthy of the name of science.

9. As the concluding cause of progress we mention "The World Missionary Conference" held at Edinburgh in 1910. It has become apparent that this convocation of the Foreign Mission Boards of the Protestant churches of Christendom marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the Church. Edinburgh stands for Protestantism presenting a solid

front to the non-Christian world. The figure is a military one, but should not be taken in that sense. The solid front is one of sympathy and friendship. The Conference came to a profound and solemn conviction that it would be folly to attempt to win the non-Christian world by means of a divided Church. The task appeared so vast and intricate that by common consent no one denomination could achieve it alone, nor could all the denominations bring it to pass working separately. The demand for a delimitation of territory between the Boards; for spheres of exclusive responsibility; for agreement upon the fundamentals of procedure; for an efficient measure of consolidation in higher educational institutions and literature; for mutual respect and support in matters of church discipline; for steadily increasing responsibility on the part of the native church; and in general for everything which might lead towards a combination of purpose and effort, characterized the sessions in an unmistakable way. We sing today with sincerity and conviction, "Like a mighty army moves the Church of God."

Dominance of the Protestant Type of Christianity

In reviewing the causes for the rapid extension of Christianity in foreign lands, we cannot avoid the conclusion that the modern spirit has had much to do with the process. An open mind toward truth from every quarter, the desire for the widest possible diffusion of knowledge, the development of toleration, the democratic ideal, and the increasing freedom from ecclesiasticism — these have been the handmaids of

the Christian propaganda during the past twenty-five years. On this account it has been impossible for the Roman Catholic Church to participate in the advance to the extent to which their closely-knit organization might seem to entitle them. Possibly in no period has the reactionary attitude of the Roman authorities proved a greater handicap. In a world swept by the scientific spirit, where the emphasis is upon the things which are vital to character, rather than upon the externals of worship and ecclesiastical form, the medievalism of Rome has proved a serious barrier between them and the more enlightened of the non-Christian people.

This is not to overlook or belittle the real and often large gains for the Kingdom arising from the efforts of the Roman propaganda. Orders like the Jesuits, the Franciscans, and the White Fathers have a history of worthy advancement in many parts of the world. Their charitable institutions dot the globe and there is no gainsaying the personal devotion and self-sacrifice of the men and women they have sent out. The record of the Jesuit missionaries among the Indians of North America we count among the most inspiring and precious possessions of the Church Universal. All this is true, and every Protestant should be grateful for it. More than that we must recognize that when the churches of the Reformation were asleep on the subject of foreign missions, the followers of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier were pushing their way into the remotest parts of the earth and enduring sufferings not surpassed in apostolic days.

But when it comes to the modern missionary move-

ment, and especially to the progress of the last quarter century, it is simple fairness to the facts to state that the Roman Catholic missions do not show the large results achieved by the Protestant bodies. On the basis of money contributed the comparison is rather painful. We are informed that in 1917 the Roman Catholics of the United States broke all previous records in their gifts to foreign missions, the total amounting to $805,500. This sum, however, is surpassed by five of the Protestant denominations, two of them, the Presbyterian and the Methodist, more than doubling the above amount. As for the total foreign missionary gifts of the Protestant societies of America in 1917 they amounted to $20,000,000. A better showing undoubtedly could be made by the Catholics of France, where the missionary spirit is more pronounced. No recent figures of the French Church are available, but the contributions reported in former years fall far short of the standard set up by the Reformation churches of Great Britain or the United States. The authorities have given out the interesting statement that the missionary gifts from France and Italy in 1917 rose to their old figure before the War, and the reason offered is the desire of the Catholics among the Allied nations for the repose of the souls of the colonial soldiers who have fallen in battle.

In the matter of present tendency, however, figures are of less significance than the patent fact that the noteworthy advances in the foreign field are not found in Catholic areas. The mass movements of India are Protestant movements; the aspect of Christianity which attracts the Chinese leaders is that of the Free

Churches; the awakening in Korea has been engineered by Presbyterians and Methodists. Even the Africans, who, one might argue, would be attracted by the glory of the priesthood and of the ritual of the mass, find in the more spontaneous life of the Protestants an atmosphere highly congenial to their nature. In the Philippine Islands for four hundred years Spanish Christianity had its chance and in all that time it failed to give the Gospel to the people in their own language. It is sad after these centuries to find the people of the islands living in such ignorance and moral degradation. They are, indeed, a piteous spectacle. The strong Protestant reaction in Luzon and Mindanao is undoubtedly, in part, a reflection of the American spirit which is taking possession of the people, itself no small tribute to Protestant ideals. This we regard as symptomatic of the new outlook upon life of the entire Eastern world. It is but one of many signs that the nations are moving away from the point of view of Rome, with its insistence upon authority and its blind adherence to the past. As a recent wr ter has said, "The modern world craves for a strengthening of the inward forces that work for seriousness, for earnest pursuit of truth and right, for more light, more understanding, not for a tightening of externally imposed schemes of dogma and ritual observance."

This tendency is not likely to be diminished by the attitude of official Rome towards the issues of the War. Asia will not overlook the fact that in the greatest struggle of history, when the issue for righteousness among the nations was drawn more sharply than ever before, when civilization itself in many of its most

sacred possessions was at stake, the head of the great Roman Church failed to lift up his voice in any decisive way. Through its attachment to Austria and Spain, and in its zeal for the integrity of a world-wide ecclesiastical organization, we have seen the Roman hierarchy turning its back upon the progressive peoples of the globe. The great figure in the Roman Church emerging from the War is not the Pope but Cardinal Mercier, who appealed to the Pope in vain.

Christianity Not Discredited by the War

But has not Christianity, no matter what its form, been hopelessly discredited by the spectacle of the leading Christian nations engaging in fratricidal strife? It will be recalled that in the fall of 1914 Mr. H. G. Wells delivered himself of some very caustic remarks on this subject, to the effect that henceforth we should hear no more of the effort to propagate Christianity among the heathen, in view of the fact that the heathen had at last found us out. In those days even good old Count Okuma of Japan, usually of sympathetic and discriminative mind, could not resist the temptation to intimate that "Hereafter our friends of England and America may not be quite so sure the West has anything to impart to the East in the realm of religion." Here and there American editors were found pusillanimous enough to fall in with this line of prophecy.

The facts which have been cited should be a sufficient answer. The years of war have seen an unprecedented advance on the part of the missionary forces. At the same time the home churches have answered

the challenge by increasing their gifts by millions of dollars.

One who has made careful inquiry of missionaries of different denominations, coming from various sections of the East, has yet to find one who knows of any serious criticism of Christianity as such because of the War. On the contrary, it is found that as a rule the people of non-Christian countries were able to discriminate between Christendom and Christianity. Moreover, they were found to discriminate between sundry types of Christianity. Your heathen may be an objectionable character in many ways; he is likely to have too many wives and to worship a superfluity of gods; he may be short on some of the fundamental moralities; but do not make the mistake of thinking that he is a fool. When occasion arises he can do as straight thinking as most men and a great deal straighter than some novelists.

What has been discredited and utterly discredited is that type of Christianity which makes the Church a mere adjunct of the State, which uses it for selfish and often unscrupulous ends, and which deems that the ethics of Jesus are not applicable to rulers and supermen. It would have been better for the Kingdom if this type had been discredited long ago. Asia honors Great Britain, France, and America for the stand which they took against the blasphemous pretensions of Germany and her allies. Christianity of the vital, New Testament type, so far from being discredited, is today on a pedestal throughout the East.

Reviewing the situation as to the extension movement of Christianity throughout the world, we must

agree with Professor Edward C. Moore, when he says, "The Church today is not only confronting the greatest opportunity it has ever had, but the greatest opportunity it ever can have, since there are no more Asias and Africas to be opened to our Gospel." Another writer has remarked, "We do not doubt that the Kingdom of God is coming. The problem is: Is it not coming too fast?" He holds that, in view of the breakdown of the non-Christian systems, the Church is confronted with an overwhelming opportunity and responsibility. Any religion, he argues, is better than none, and it would be better for the non-Christian people to retain their ancient faiths unless we are prepared to lead them to the full light of Christian truth.

Whatever significance there may be in the other aspects of the world situation which we shall discuss, we may rejoice in a world ready and eager for the Christian message. We live in a new fulness of time.

FACT IV

THE EAST AND THE WEST FIGHT FOR A COMMON CAUSE

It was Professor John Dewey, of Columbia University, who made the remark, "There is just one thing that can overcome the deep-seated antagonisms of the nations and races of the earth, and that is an invasion from Mars." And then he added significantly, "And that is precisely what has come to pass." In this keen observation Professor Dewey fixes upon the first great fruitage of the war. Possibly, several years hence, when the entire harvest of results is gathered in, the movement towards world unity which the War has so conspicuously advanced will remain as its outstanding glory. It is truly a wonderful providence that the struggle which divided the world into two warring camps has served to unite the world to a degree regarded as quite out of the range of possibilities a few years ago. The one thing needed was devotion to and participation in a common cause. The basis of unity had been laid in the intellectual movement which we have considered under "The Renaissance of Asia" and in the religious movement which has advanced Christianity at the expense of the other faiths. It remained for some stupendous incentive to appear which should swing the East and the West into line for a joint campaign.

Some one has said, "There are three things which bind men together: a common love, a common danger, and a common task." If we cannot claim love as a basis of union among the allies which opposed German savagery and aggression, we may at least have the satisfaction of knowing that the other two motives were well to the front. It remains for love to have her perfect work in the years which lie ahead.

A Cross-Section of Humanity

In one of his messages President Wilson called the attention of the German Government to the fact that they had shocked the moral sense of three-quarters of the population of the earth. Others have emphasized the number of nations large and small — twenty-five, if we include Arabia and the Czecho-Slovaks — which have thrown in their lot with Belgium, France, and England. More impressives till were the stories and pictures which came to us from the Western front, descriptive of the strange mingling of the light and dark races from the four quarters of the globe. Dr. John R. Mott upon returning from France, spoke of the Allied army as "a cross-section of humanity." He mentioned seeing in the course of a few days' travel at the front representatives of the following peoples: French, British, Belgians, Russians, Italians, Portuguese, Australians, Canadians, South Africans, Brazilians, Japanese, Chinese, Indo-Chinese, East Indians, American Indians, Moroccans, Algerians, Basutos, Malagasy, and, of course, Americans — twenty in all. "Never," he declared, "has there been such an international representative gathering on one field to fight

for a common object." Most of these nationalities were represented in a single conference of Christian workers, which was assembled to meet Dr. Mott, and which in its rainbow aspect, he said, reminded him of the World's Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910. He called attention to the fact that this international army was composed not of the anemic and destitute, but of the best of the world's manhood, the flower of European, American, and Asiatic youth.

Another impression of world unity, rising from the wreckage of war, came to us when we read of the composition of General Allenby's army which captured Jerusalem from the Turks. The despatches had spoken of the expedition as British, but when the facts were made known it appeared that General Allenby led into the Sacred City on that memorable day in February, 1918, a force composed of English, Scots, Welsh, Irish, Australians, New Zealanders, East Indians, French, and Italians. This has well been called the last of the Crusades, since it represents not only Christian Europe but an outraged world arrayed against the barbarity of the Turk.

But we must not forget Africa and the Islands of the Sea. If anything more is needed in the way of a world demonstration against Germany's selfish aims, it may be found in the remarkable response of the wild tribes of the Dark Continent and the one time heathen, but now Christian, races of Australasia. No complete list of African peoples participating in the War on the side of the Entente Allies has as yet been published, but, as the news has filtered through from France and from the campaigns of German East and German Southwest

Africa, it has been possible to check off the names of the following nations or tribes: Kaffirs, Hottentots, Zulus, Basutos, Xosa, Griquas, Shangaans, Mashonas, Matabele, Askari, Nyassa, Ekite, Nigerians, Senegalese, Sudanese, Moors, Algerians, Egyptians, and Malagasy. This makes a list of nineteen peoples, with several of the titles standing for large aggregations rather than for separate tribes.

World unity indeed! Not through the abstract reasonings of social reformers or the dreamings of the poets, but wrought out in flesh and blood, at the price of untold suffering and woe. Modern civilization has demonstrated beyond all question the truth of the Bible saying that God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell upon all the face of the earth. During these years of war we have witnessed this blood flowing in a common stream for the saving of the world.

The Non-Christian World Solid for Righteousness

The deepest significance of the participation in the War of the dusky races of Asia and Africa lies in the fact that this is the reaction of the non-Christian world in behalf of national and international righteousness. How many have stopped to consider that, aside from Turkey, not one non-Christian nation was willing to stand with Germany? How many realize that "Heathen Asia" made up her mind long before Christian America came to a decision; that, while we were being exhorted to remain intellectually as well as politically neutral, the Buddhists of Japan, the Con-

fucianists of China, and the Hindus of India not only were taking sides, but were throwing in such resources as they possessed in behalf of the outraged nations of Europe? The fact that the War rose in the West through the denial of all that is characteristic and fine in Christian culture, gives tremendous significance to the choice of the nations living in "heathen darkness."

Japan's course was determined, in the main, by her alliance with Great Britain, and it may be argued that no special credit belongs to her. True; yet we are to remember that Japan's governmental model was not England but Prussia, and that for fifty years she had held German soldiers, statemen, and scholars in the highest admiration. Then she beholds Germany, under the leadership of these very men, repudiating her alliances and treaties, calling them "scraps of paper," and regarding the weaker nations as so much prey. What course should Japan pursue, what example follow? Why should she stand by her covenants any more than Germany? Germany called herself Christian; Japan made no such claim. Under the circumstances Japan's fidelity to the English treaty was an act of high moral quality. It placed her definitely among the nations which stand for good faith. The bearing of this decision on the part of the leading nation of Asia upon the reestablishment of international law and the maintenance of permanent peace has not escaped the attention of the onlooking world. It is one of the great reassuring events arising out of this war, an event which steadies our minds as we look into the future.

China's official choice was late, following that of the

United States. Yet China contributed her labor battalions, sending to France not less than 200,000 of her coolies; and from the first her leaders let it be known that their sympathies were on the side of the Allies. China is desperately poor and might easily have become a prey to German propaganda and gold. Those who understand how many undercurrents were setting towards Berlin in the early period of the War, are outspoken in their praise of China's choice. It shows that Asia's heart beats true when it comes to a straight issue of righteousness and decency among nations.

India is the admiration of the world. Without regard to religion, race, or caste, and forgetful, for the most part, of past differences with Great Britain, she threw herself without reserve into the great cause. Her soldiers have fought valiantly on every front; her sacrifices in life and in treasure have been great. Have any poetical lines been written during the War more touchingly beautiful than those of Sarojini Naidu, addressed to England, and entitled, "The Gift of India," in which she sings of the loyalty of her country's soldiers in the great war for freedom?

"Gathered like pearls in their alien graves
Silent they sleep by the Persian waves;
Scattered like shells on Egyptian sands,
They lie with pale brows and brave, broken hands;
They are strewn like blossoms mown down by chance
On the blood-brown meadows of Flanders and France."

Bishop Warne, of Lucknow, tells how his daughter at the outbreak of the War hung a large map of the

world in her study, on which she was accustomed to trace the progress of the armies on the various fronts, and how prominent natives from near and far would come in and ask to have her explain the latest news and indicate on the map where the Indian troops were engaged. One day an aged man, from a city far in the north, arrived and inquired how things were going for the Allies. When all was explained, he expressed his gratitude, and then, on the supposition that she was English, he delivered himself on this wise: "I have come on a long journey to learn these things, and I want you to know that my heart is full. When you go back to England and see your King, I want you to deliver this message from me. Say, 'My grandfather lived under the British raj; my father lived under the British raj; I have lived all my life under the British raj, and my children are living under the British raj today. In all these years we have had justice, protection, peace, and plenty. Tell the King that we Indians are grateful for his rule over our land, and that we will stand by him to the very end."

But it is to Mohammedan India that we must look for the finest demonstration of loyalty to England and her cause, since the price of their loyalty was a complete break with their caliph and the Moslem authorities at Constantinople. We have it on good authority that when the proclamation of the *Jehad* or "Holy War" was received in North India in the fall of 1914, the Mohammedan leaders, incensed beyond measure by the arrogance of the caliph, petitioned the British authorities that Moslem troops from India might be allowed to defend Egypt against the invasion of the

Turkish army. We know that this privilege was granted in some measure, and that when Jemal Pasha marched against Egypt in the ill-fated expedition of the spring of 1915, among the opposing troops lined up along the Suez Canal was a Moslem battalion from India. We know also that when the Turkish officers learned this fact, chuckling with glee, they passed the word around among the soldiers and reckoned upon an easy victory. They said, "You will find the canal defended by Moslems. When ordered to charge you have but to shout, 'We are your brothers. We are fellow-Moslems' and they will throw down their arms and welcome you as brothers, and we shall march into Egypt as on a holiday excursion." The poor wretches believed this word, as well they might — it always had been so — and when the first charge was made and they shouted as they had been instructed, they were met by a blaze of rapid-fire guns and were mown down in heaps upon the desert sands.[1] This incident seems not to have gotten into the papers, which is the more regrettable, since it is a marking event in the modern world. For the first time in history, so far as we know, Moslems of the orthodox brand were found fighting against Moslems. We owe it to India's loyalty to the

[1] This story, which has been called in question in certain quarters as "inconceivable," has been verified to the writer by Sir Gen. James Wilcocks, who commanded the Indian contingent in France which later went to Egypt. Asked if it were true that Indian Moslems participated in the Egyptian campaign and that they fired upon the Moslem troops from Turkey, he replied, "It is absolutely true. They were my own brigade." As to such a procedure being "inconceivable," he remarked, "Many inconceivable things have happened in this war."

Allies that the solidarity of Islam has been shattered beyond repair.

The Loyalty of the Lesser Races

When the full history of this remarkable war is written there will be a chapter devoted to the courage and devotion of the lesser races of Asia, Africa, and the island possessions. Tribes whose names one rarely hears and whose whereabouts would set many an educated man to guessing, have revealed an ethical grasp and loyalty not surpassed by India or Japan. Little Siam, for example, entered the War full of fight and with a determination to count in some definite way on the side of the Allies. The last step reported was the sending by their king of 500 of their choice young men to France in the aero service, with full equipment of battle-planes and armament.

The Zulus at the outbreak of the War were engaged in bitter strife with the authorities of the Union of South Africa over the land question, and were about to send a deputation to London to register a protest with the Imperial Parliament. The moment, however, they heard of the rape of Belgium the Zulu leaders voted to postpone all questions in dispute and to throw their strength wholeheartedly into the defense of the English cause.

A truly remarkably thing happened in New Zealand. The men of certain of the Maori tribes enlisted in such numbers that the authorities feared the extinction of this fine South Sea race. It will be remembered that the Maori troops fought with great gallantry in the Gallipoli campaign, especially distinguishing themselves

in the Suvla Bay adventure. Their losses in Gallipoli and France were so heavy that the Defense Minister of New Zealand, Sir James Allen, had to instruct the Ngapubi tribe to hold back their young men, pending the enforcement of conscription among the tribes further south.

The story comes of a tribe in South Nigeria, called the Ekite, which suffered severely through the War, yet which, desiring to do something additional, took up a collection, as the result of which they sent twenty-five pounds to the Prince of Wales Fund.

Some day Germany will learn of such facts as these and wonder.

The more we study this reaction of the non-Christian world, the more shall we be impressed by its vast significance in the development of right relations between races, nations, and social groups. Yet we must not assume too much. The milennium has not yet dawned. The old problems, as old as the race, arising from geographical barriers, from economic pressure, from political aspiration, from racial temperament, and from religious prejudice, will assert themselves in coming years, and furnish recurring occasion for rivalry and strife. Motives that lie deeper than self-defense and national honor must be stirred if we are to have a world united in peace and cooperative effort. We can say with Edith Cavell, "Patriotism is not enough."

On the other hand, let us not minimize the present result. What has been achieved is the demonstration on a world scale that the most diverse nations can be counted upon to stand for a civilization based upon righteousness and humanity, and that when occasion

arises these nations are willing to make great sacrifices in defense of their ideal.

Three Distinct Gains

Specifically, what good hope does this offer for the future of the race? Of three things we may be reasonably sure.

1. *The New World Consciousness.* Ten or fifteen years ago we were given to saying that the world was becoming one neighborhood. We should have saved that word for the present time, because a neighborhood implies not only propinquity but friendliness. Steam and electricity had indeed drawn the nations close together in the matter of travel and the exchange of commodities; but who will claim that these inventions were developing a neighborly feeling? The unity of those days appears now as a thin veneer of commercial rivalry and too often of selfish exploitation. Today the most diverse and widely separated nations have been brought together on the basis of mutual sympathy and helpfulness. In discovering one another they have discovered their world.

Consider the astonishing things which have happened in the way of an education in universalism! Millions of Americans from every walk of life crossing the ocean and mingling with the peoples of England, France, Italy, Russia, and Central Europe! "What a broadening experience!" everyone is remarking. "A trip to Europe at the expense of Uncle Sam," is the light-hearted way in which a soldier from the West described his campaign. And what an education, too, for us at home! What lessons in geography we

received in those days, with maps in every newspaper, revised up to the hour, and our atlases no longer tucked away behind glass doors but lying conveniently on the table! We read of Russian troops transported to France via Vladivostok and the Indian Ocean, or of an American Red Cross Unit sent to Palestine via Cape Town and the Red Sea, and then followed such a searching of atlases and encyclopedias as we had not experienced since college days.

The British for over a century have been world rovers; their interests have been widely scattered over the earth; their journals have been noteworthy for a cosmopolitan tone; yet today the world seems new to them and they confess they did not know their own India or even Canada or Australia. As for France, she has become the host of the nations. If her enemies have swarmed over her borders and captured her fair cities and towns, her friends have swarmed to her defense and captured her heart. Europe and America through this war are coming into a new world consciousness.

And what shall we say of Asia and Africa? Here was a company of swarthy Gurkhas from the Punjab on their way to Marseilles. This involved the undreamed-of experience of leaving their native land. They traverse the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, the Suez Canal, and the Mediterranean. From France they are transported to Egypt, from Egypt to German East Africa, from there to Mesopotamia, and finally we read of them on that wonderful march of 700 miles through Persia to Baku on the Caspian Sea. What are those Gurkhas saying to their relatives and friends now

that they are back in the Punjab? What is the world of their thought and feeling?

There was that battalion of 3000 Chinese coolies from Shantung, embarking for work behind the lines in Picardy. We traced their journey across the Pacific, across Canada, across the Atlantic to France. Did we consider what was happening in their heads along the way? Imagine a regiment of ebony-hued Senegalese swinging through the boulevards of Paris! The historians tell us of Europe's break with provincialism in the time of the Crusades, as a result of the coming and going of armies to the Levant. The interweaving of races at that time was not a circumstance to what has happened in our day.

This is far more than an expansion of geographical knowledge. By the same experience we have come into an appreciation of world cooperation. The physical contact with alien races — Europeans, Asiatics, Africans, becoming comrades in arms — is a factor of immense significance. But possibly of even greater value is the fact that the world through the war period accustomed itself to act together for common ends. Five years ago who would have been bold enough to suggest the pooling of the resources of the earth in agriculture and industry, the international supervision of shipping, and the control of publicity through a world-wide censorship? Events of this kind came upon us with such rapidity that few realized the education we were receiving. In four years the human race has found itself as in no other period in history. To quote Professor Dewey again, "The world for the first time is politically as well as astronomically round."

2. *The New Nationalism.* With the new world consciousness comes a new sense of national responsibility. This will reveal itself particularly in the dealings of the Great Powers with their colonial dependencies. Gratitude alone will dictate a more just and generous policy than in the past. India will be demanding a reward for her steadfast loyalty in the War, and already, it would appear, Great Britain is in a mood to grant any reasonable request. So with lesser peoples, like the aborigines of New Zealand and sundry African tribes. France will be wanting to do great things for Algeria, Morocco, and the Sudan. Even Italy is bound to catch the new vision and to treat in a more brotherly way her newly-acquired Tripolitan subjects. As for the arrangement by which Italy was to receive Abyssinia as her reward for breaking the alliance with Germany and Austria, the powers are already ashamed of the bargain. We may at least thank the Russian radicals for that, since we owe it to them that the secret agreements made between the Allies early in the War were published to the world.

We may look with confidence for notable reforms in colonial administration. It is safe to predict that we shall hear no more of such things as the Congo atrocities, the exploitation of the Putamayo Indians, the indenturing of native labor in Mozambique and Angola, the forcing of opium upon the Chinese, and the refusal of land and homes to the Negroes in their own continent. Gratitude will help to make such abuses impossible, but even more are we to feel the force of an awakening national conscience pervading many lands.

If we seek for a term which expresses the changed point of view we may find it in the word "trusteeship." Hereafter great nations are to hold their colonial possessions not as their *own*, but in trust for the people of the land. Whatever advantages the governing power is to acquire must be subsidiary to the welfare of the nationals. This is a principle which has been indirectly recognized in certain treaties and agreements dealing with backward races, so far as particular abuses are concerned, but it never has been enunciated as of general force, far less has it been put into practice. Hereafter, enlightened international sentiment will not tolerate any lower basis for colonial administration. If Germany is to lose permanently her colonies in Africa it is because she insisted upon being owner rather than trustee. Of Germany's treatment of her African subjects one well qualified to speak has said, "At best her colonies were well-regulated prisons."

Such a principle as has been enunciated requires that not only justice but respect and good will should be extended to dependent and backward races. English officials will need to abandon their attitude of lofty superiority if they expect to retain the loyalty of India's awakened millions. The Chinese must not be treated like pariah dogs in the European section of Shanghai, if China is to take her place among the republics of the world and render her share for the good of humanity. Africans who have fought against the Germans on the East Coast may not be kicked around by Englishmen in Durban and Johannesburg.

Already there are signs of a better feeling between those races, which have been fighting side by side.

Nothing that came out of France is more reassuring than that extract from a letter of an American Negro soldier to his mother at home, which caught the eye of a thoughtful censor and so was given to the public. What he said was this: "I tell you, mammy, they treat us fine. There's plenty of fighting, but we's just as good as anybody else. We don't ever know we's black unless we looks in the glass." Still better is this incident from our own Southland. In a certain aristocratic home of the South when the colored house-boy entered the Army, in recognition of the event the lady of the house hung a serv ce flag in the kitchen window, having previously hung a service flag in the parlor window in honor of her son's enlistment. Later the son returned home and inquired what the flag in the kitchen meant. When he was told it stood for Jim, their servant, he said, "Mother, no service flag shall hang in the kitchen of this house. Jim and I are fighting side by side in this war." And, taking the colored servant's flag, he placed it in the parlor window beside his own.

But the sense of appreciation and responsibility is by no means limited to the Great Powers, since the weaker people are experiencing an equal feeling of gratitude towards their protectors. Lloyd George, at the outbreak of the War, declared the struggle was in behalf of the small nations, and the small nations were not slow to adopt this view. Obliged to choose between Germany with her ruthless treatment of Serbia and Belgium, and England with her chivalrous defense of her weak neighbor, they were not long in making up their minds. They could not afford to be

independent. They needed England and France as much as England and France needed them. It is the demonstration of the interdependence of great and small that gives this war its special value with reference to the future of nationalism. What we behold is nothing less than a brotherhood of states both within and without the spheres of the Great Powers. England and France have gained immeasurably through the unification of their diverse and widely scattered people, but every little detached kingdom of Asia and even the wild tribes of Africa stand to gain by the same process. We are witnessing a new spirit of responsibility and appreciation all round the circle.

For one thing, we are likely to see a lessening for a long time to come of the incessant nagging to which Great Britain has been subjected on the part of the races who have received the most at her hands. If England has learned to appreciate her Indians, her Egyptians, and her Boers, these hitherto disgruntled people have learned to appreciate England. Already they are saying in effect, "We have done this great thing together. Let us keep on doing great things together." Kipling sets forth this new point of view in his poem, "The Return," in which he pictures a Boer soldier starting for home upon the declaration of peace.

"Peace is declared, an' I return
To 'Ackneystadt, but not the same;
Things 'ave transpired which made me learn
The size and meanin' of the game.
I did no more than others did,
I don't know where the change began;
I started as an average kid,
I finished as a thinkin' man.

If England was what England seems,
An' not the England of our dreams,
But only putty, brass, an' paint
'Ow quick we'd drop 'er! But she ain't!"

The new nationalism contains more possibilities for world betterment than can even be hinted at here. It may be said in general, however, that hereafter no nation is likely to have its rights and interests overlooked because it is small, and no nation will be allowed to trample upon another because it is great.

3. *The Advancement of the Christian Cause.* And now we come to the most surprising thing of all. *Paganism fought for a world built upon the Christian plan.* If we may consider that the great objectives, as they emerged through the on-goings of the War, are righteousness, humanity, and peace, we may surely take strong satisfaction in the fact that the non-Christian peoples of the world enlisted on our side. Whether they know it or not, and a great many of them do know it, they joined in a fight for the essentials of the Christian religion; they poured out their life blood to help establish the institution which above all others is undermining the foundations of their own belief. The War has made them at home in Christendom.

What an astonishing situation! Who could possibly have foreseen such a rounding up of world forces in favor of the Church of Christ as the result of a war which many in high places regarded as writing the doom of the Church? What have Mr. H. G. Wells and those who echoed his timid note to say of this outcome? But let us indulge in no bitter criticisms or recrimina-

tions. Probably most of us will prefer to acknowledge the shortness of our own spiritual vision. The event has transpired in such a truly wonderful way that we have disposition only for gratitude and inspiration. From out the heart of the unbelieving world there has come to us this overwhelming demonstration of the necessity of the principles of the Christian religion, if the world is to live and work and grow as one family of God. Not since the days of Constantine have we had so compelling a demonstration of the absoluteness of Christianity as the basis of world life.

The reflex influence of this fact upon the pagan world must be considerable. It has been said that the best way to consolidate a man's faith in any cause is to lead him to become an advocate of that cause. How much more, then, must be the value of fighting for what has been only vaguely realized or believed? Already the evidence is coming in which shows that this decision of the non-Christian people once made and registered serves to clarify all their thinking in the religious as in the political realm. Peculiarly touching was the speech made by a chief of one of the Maori tribes. Called upon to advise his young men as they were about to embark for the War, he addressed them in these words:

"For the first time in the history of the Maori race, all tribes are united to fight together for the Empire. We have learned wisdom, and regret our former violence; and we are now at last united to fight for our white brethren. You soldiers, don't forget that we all originate from one common stock. We worship one God. Be truthful, be honorable. You carry the honor of the Maori race in your hands. Be brave;

and remember the flag you will have flying over your tents. With reference to your religious beliefs, don't forget that you aim for one Heaven. Fear God, read and study your Bibles, and may the British reign over us forever."

Undoubtedly that speech would not have been made but for the faithful work of Christian missionaries in more than one generation, but undoubtedly that one speech did more to commend the Christian Gospel to the Maori people than a thousand missionary sermons.

It is noteworthy that this union of the East and the West is having a far-reaching effect in the matter of overcoming the religious antagonisms which have long stood in the way of Christian conquest. The War has removed the mountains of prejudice and filled up the valleys of ignorance. It has prepared the way of the Lord. A missionary quoted in the London Missionary Society *Chronicle*, spoke of having nearly a dozen races in the brigade which he accompanied to France. "They range," he says, "from the restless Afridis of the Northwest Frontier to the long-haired Burmese, the noisy Hindu, and the Moslem of historic plains, the aborigines of the Indian jungles, the Bengali from the steamy swamps, Christianized tribes from Shillong, and the 'headhunters' or weird-looking Nagas from the higher mountains of Assam." It must mean much to the future peace and welfare of India that so many and diverse races of that land of 150 languages are brought within one camp and engaged upon one task. How much more does it mean to Christianity that their physical and mental wants are being ministered to by men like this English clergyman, that they are behold-

ing for the first time the characteristic institutions of Christianity — the church, the hospital, the school, and the home — and that everywhere they are meeting with a friendly and appreciative welcome on the part of the people of Christ. Prejudice will find little encouragement under conditions like these.

Add the direct efforts of multitudes of foreign missionaries and Y M C A workers who, under the leadership of their organizations, ministered in spiritual as well as practical ways to the soldiers of Asia, Africa, and the island colonies. The sending of missionaries from China to France with the coolie labor battalion was a happy inspiration of the British officials. As a war measure it proved to be an agency of great importance; as a Christian measure it is bound to be of incalculable worth. These missionaries acted as interpreters between the officers and the men; they wrote the letters of the men to their families in Shantung and Chihli; they helped them to save their earnings; they explained what the War was about, and how vitally it bore upon the welfare of their own land; they cared for them when they were ill; above all they led many of them to Christ. The effect this is likely to have upon Western opinion of the Chinese is suggested by a letter from Captain James Cooper, M.D., an American missionary physician, who accompanied a battalion of coolies to France and then was assigned to the general medical base for the Chinese. Dr. Cooper sang the praises of his men in a way that should help allay prejudice in the United States:

"My friend John is making good in France. He is a rebuke to the slacker. No man loves his home more

than he, yet he has crossed two oceans and a continent to help win the war in the interests of humanity. Many who scorn him sit at home on soft cushions, while he sleeps on the ground at night and works hard all day pushing ammunition to the front. He has been bombed, gassed, and wounded but he is no quitter. He is enduring hardness as a good soldier. He works long hours and is reliable and cheerful. He is giving satisfaction and is liked by all and I am proud to be associated with him here."

Again, one of the mightiest influences in favor of the Christian religion arose from the conduct of the Allied armies which penetrated pagan or Mohammedan territory. The activities of the Red Cross and of the army hospital have borne impressive witness to the methods of Christian warfare. It is an immense gain that through the Palestinian expedition the stigma of the Crusades is now removed, to a considerable extent, from the minds of Arabs and Turks. When Godfrey led his Christian hosts into Jerusalem in 1099 his first act was to put ten thousand Saracens to the sword and to burn the Jews in their synagogues in which they had taken refuge. When General Allenby entered Jerusalem, Feb. 21, 1918, he issued a proclamation assuring justice, toleration, and protection for all classes. He placed a Moslem guard of Indian troops about the Mosque of Omar, which occupies the site of Solomon's Temple, in order that no follower of Islam should be hindered or molested in his worship. Coincidently good government was set up, food supplies were introduced, the streets were cleaned, sanitary agencies organized a campaign against cholera and typhus and smallpox, hospitals were erect ed,and in a

multitude of ways the inhabitants were given a taste of present-day Christian administration in contrast with 700 years of Turkish robbery and misrule.

One of the officers in General Allenby's army was Rev. Major Isaac Camp, who was on his way to Turkey as a missionary when the War broke out. For a time he served as Military Governor of Bethlehem, which the Turks left empty of food and full of disease. Camp's work was to clean up the city, introduce food and medicine, and in every way possible make it a fit place of residence and worthy of its sacred associations. We have been living through days when the missionaries became soldiers and the soldiers missionaries.

Speaking of Palestine and the prejudice of the Moslems, what must they be saying of the activities of the American Red Cross Unit which sailed from New York in the spring of 1918, and which worked at the side of the British forces for the relief of the civilian population of the Holy Land? This Unit, administered by the Red Cross, but supported conjointly by that organization and the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, was composed of something over fifty people, men and women, representing various lines of relief and practical service — physicians, nurses, sanitary engineers, social workers, clergymen. All went with an earnest humanitarian purpose, nearly all were Christians, ten or a dozen had served as foreign missionaries in the Levant, and there was one missionary secretary. They took with them on their ship 1000 tons of supplies — food, medicine, surgical instruments, bandages, and soap — also twelve Ford cars and several motor trucks. Someone called the expedition

"The Crusade of the Good Samaritans," and many rejoiced to think of them as going down the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, riding over the highways of our Saviour's country — not on donkeys like the Good Samaritan of old, but in their gasoline cars, dispensing their supplies and good cheer on every side. Thank God that after all these centuries Palestine has come to know Christianity of the New Testament brand!

United We Stand

The substance of it all is that, in the Providence of God, this war which has brought indescribable woe upon the human race has helped wonderfully to establish the Kingdom of love, joy, and peace. Arbitrary racial and geographical distinctions are giving way, a new world unity emerges, and a basis for brotherhood and permanent peace is being laid.

Three of our modern poets have forecasted the times in which we live in a way to command the attention of the world — Tennyson with his "Locksley Hall," Edwin Markham with his "Brotherhood" and "Desire of the Nations" and Walt Whitman with his "Years of the Modern." Whitman's lines are nobly prophetic of the world upon which we look out today.

Years of the Modern

(Written in 1860)

Years of the modern! years of the unperform'd!
Your horizon rises — I see it parting away for more
august dramas,
I see not America only — not only Liberty's nation but
other nations preparing.

I see tremendous entrances and exits — new combinations — I see the solidarity of races;
I see that force advancing with irresistible power on the world's stage;
(Have the old forces, the old wars, played their parts? are the acts suitable to them closed?)
I see Freedom, completely arm'd and victorious and very haughty, with Law on one side and Peace on the other,
A stupendous trio, all issuing forth against the idea of caste;
What historic dénouements are these we so rapidly approach?
I see men marching and countermarching by swift millions;
I see the frontiers and boundaries of the old aristocracies broken;
I see the landmarks of European kings removed;
I see this day the People beginning their landmarks (all others give way);
Never were such sharp questions ask'd as this day;
Never was average man, his soul, more energetic, more like a God;
Lo, how he urges and urges, leaving the masses no rest!
His daring foot is on land and sea everywhere — he colonizes the Pacific, the archipelagoes;
With the steamship, the electric telegraph, the newspaper, the wholesale engines of war,
With these, and the world-spreading factories, he interlinks all geography, all lands;
What whispers are these, O lands, running ahead of you, passing under the seas?
Are all nations communing? is there going to be but one heart to the globe?
Is humanity forming, en-masse? for lo! tyrants tremble, crowns grow dim;
The earth, restive, confronts a new era, perhaps a general divine war;

No one knows what will happen next — such portents
fill the days and nights;
Years prophetical! the space ahead as I walk, as I
vainly try to pierce it, is full of phantoms;
Unborn deeds, things soon to be, project their shapes
around me;
This incredible rush and heat, this strange ecstatic
fever of dreams, O years!
Your dreams, O year, how they penetrate through me!
(I know not whether I sleep or wake!)
The perform'd America and Europe grow dim, retiring
in shadow behind me,
The unperform'd, more gigantic than ever, advance,
advance upon me.[2]

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FACT V

THE EAST LOOKS TO AMERICA FOR EXAMPLE AND HELP

"O God, make China like the United States," was the prayer of a Chinese official in a recent Christian assembly. What thoughts, what feelings does that petition, winging its way from the other side of the world, awaken in our minds? How do we want it answered? Do we want it answered at all? Do we care to have China like the United States in view of the political corruption, the commercial greed, the class exclusiveness which prevail to such a sad extent in our American life? Do we wish China to have our ward-bosses, our vulgar display of wealth, our violent strikes, our tenement-house abuses, our red-light districts, our corner saloons, our lynchings, our tobacco habit, our Sabbath desecration? Are there other things in American life which we can give to China and which will offset such evils?

Perhaps our answer will be different from what it would have been a few years ago, especially since we have decided to cross off the saloon from the list. In any event we are profoundly moved that such a prayer should have been offered. That China, hoary with age and claiming one-quarter of the earth's population, should long to share in the life of our lusty young republic, that she sees so much good in us as to

overlook the evil — the pathos of the thing goes to our hearts; it stirs strange thoughts.

China's Friendship Sincere

In the year 1852 William H. Seward delivered a speech in the United States Senate which contained this remarkable forecast of American influence in the Far East:

"Even the discovery of this continent and its islands, and the organization of society and government upon them, grand and important as these events have been, were but conditional, preliminary, and ancillary to the more sublime result now in the act of consummation — the reunion of the two civilizations, which, parting on the plains of Asia four thousand years ago, and traveling ever after in opposite directions around the world, now meet again on the coasts and islands of the Pacific Ocean. Certainly no mere human event of equal dignity and importance has ever occurred upon the earth. It will be followed by the equalization of the condition of society and the restoration of the unity of the human family. Who does not see that henceforth every year European commerce, European politics, European thoughts, and European activity, although actually gaining greater force, and European connections, although actually becoming more intimate, will nevertheless ultimately sink in importance; while the Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast regions beyond, will become the chief theater of events in the world's great hereafter? Who does not see that this movement must effect our own complete emancipation from what remains of European influence and prejudice, and in turn develop the American opinion and influence which shall remould constitutional laws and customs in the land that is first greeted by the rising sun?"

The consideration which drew forth these words was not any proposed treaty or alliance with an Oriental Power, but the conviction on Mr. Seward's part that the time had come for the United States to undertake a complete and accurate survey of the North Pacific Ocean. Mr. Seward revealed the breadth of his mind and his firm grasp upon ultimate principles when he urged the expansion of our commerce for the sake of the larger gains of the race. It is a cause for national thanksgiving that, notwithstanding our provincialism, in each period of our history we have been able to claim at least one statesman of Mr. Seward's caliber and prescience. China is a republic today because such men as Washington, Webster, Seward, Lincoln, and Hay have directed our thoughts toward the world aspects of our civilization. No wonder the East is interested in America. No wonder American travelers find pictures of Washington and Lincoln hanging in Chinese homes.

As far back as 1858 a Chinese scholar, by the name of Sen Ki-Yu, wrote a book for the purpose of stimulating his people to broader views, in which he paid this tribute to George Washington:

"Surely Washington was an extraordinary man. His successes as a soldier were more rapid than those of Sheng and Kuang, and in personal courage he was superior to Tsao-pi and Liu-pang. With the two-edged sword (of justice) he established the tranquillity of the country over an area of several thousand miles. He refused to receive pecuniary recompense. He labored to rear an elective system of government. Patriotism like this is to be commended under the whole heavens. Truly it reminds us of our own three ancient

dynasties! In administering the government he fostered virtue, he avoided war, and he succeeded in making his country superior to all other nations. I have seen his portrait. His countenance exhibits great mental power. Who must not concede to him the character of an extraordinary man?"

It is gratifying to learn that our Government, when its attention was called to this remarkable tribute, ordered the making of a fine portrait of Washington which it sent as a gift to Sen Ki-Yu. China's interest in America is not of recent growth. Anson Burlingame, the greatest diplomat our country has sent to the East, reached Peking in 1861 and so completely and speedily did he gain the confidence of the government officials that China's friendship for America may be said to date from that event. It was in 1870 that Chinese students began to come to the United States under the care of Yung Wing, whose admiration for everything American is indicated by the fact that he married an American wife.

From that year until now the Chinese have been "fed up" on stories of America as the land of freedom and friendship. During all those years knowledge of us and our ways was quietly spreading until there came to exist among the better educated of the people an intelligent and genuine affection for American ideals and institutions. Gradually there arose the hope that China herself might become free, that some day she might claim to be the United States of the Asiatic continent. The revolution in 1911–1912 was but the coming to the surface of these aspirations. The movement seemed to spring from the ground. It caused

America to wonder and Europe to fume; but to the progressive Chinese it was the most natural thing in the world. They wanted the latest and the best, and that meant America.

Since the original step two counter-revolutions have been attempted, each with imperialistic aims; one was engineered by the great Yuan Shih Kai. Both having failed miserably, we find China fairly well settled in her republican ways. She speaks of us as "Our Sister Republic across the seas."

Along with our governmental structure goes pretty much our entire scheme of life — railroads, schools, banks, commercial systems, social ideals. No wonder the European states are anxious for their Chinese trade. Some of them, unable to account for such a partiality for things American, accuse our diplomats of undue influence. German agents have even charged complicity between our Government and the American missionaries, asserting that the missionaries receive secret instructions from Washington to work for preferential arrangements in trade. The Chinese laugh at all this; but they keep on praying, "O God, make China like the United States."

Japan and the United States

How is it with Japan? Just now it is fashionable in certain quarters to suspect Japan's friendship for the United States. Yet those who are in a position to know the facts, and especially those who understand the Japanese people, maintain that Japan's gratitude and admiration for America is no less today than when she was seeking our help in the matter of readjusting

her life to Western standards and ways. There is no better authority on this subject than Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, who has served for twenty-six years as a missionary and educator in Japan, and is now connected with the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Dr. Gulick does not ignore the strained relations between Japan and the United States, which arose over the immigration and land questions a few years ago, and which reached a climax in 1913. The result of his intimate study of the problem in all its phases is a comprehensive plan which would limit the immigration to the United States from any country, in a given year, to a certain percentage, say five per cent, of the persons who have already been naturalized from that country. This, he argues, would place Japan upon the same basis as Great Britain, Italy, Russia, or any other power; it would do away with the discrimination incident to the present arrangement and which proves so offensive to the Japanese. The Gulick plan would automatically limit the number of Japanese coming to our shores for permanent residence to a very small portion — really a negligible quantity. It would at the same time meet all American objections and satisfy Japanese sensibilities.

If this plan can be put into effect through a revision of our immigration laws, it will be a long step in the direction of confirming Japan's natural admiration for the American nation. As to the existence of a sincere regard for the people of the United States, Dr. Gulick leaves us in no doubt. During these years of diplomatic strain no event, he holds, has undermined the fundamental friendship which dates from the time

when Commodore Perry introduced Japan to the world. It is an evidence of good feeling as well as of good faith on the part of the Japanese that they enter into "a gentleman's agreement" over a matter which a sensitive and self-respecting country, intent upon standing upon its rights, might easily insist should rest upon the solid basis of a treaty.[1]

As for the people of Japan, in distinction from their Government, it is reassuring to find that they do not propose to be outdone by the Chinese in their admiration for statesmen like Washington and Lincoln. Dr. Arthur H. Smith quotes from a Japanese paper which states that in a popular vote of the pupils in one of their schools as to their favorite hero, Washington received a few more than sixty votes and Lincoln almost as many, while the great Japanese war hero Admiral Togo, did not rise to forty ballots. A missionary from Japan cites the case of a primary school which voted almost solidly to have Lincoln's picture hung on its walls as its favorite hero. Dr. Gulick writes to the same effect, "A few years ago," he says, "inquiry was made in Japan as to the effect on Japanese students of their life in the various lands. The opinion of educators was unanimous that those who studied in Europe returned to Japan confirmed in their patriotism and highly critical of other lands, while those who had studied in America were highly critical of Japan and laudatory of America." So pronounced was this

[1] The full discussion of this most important subject is found in the following books by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick: "America and the Orient"; "American Diplomacy and Asiatic Citizenship"; "The American Japanese Problem."

difference that narrow-minded Japanese dissuade students from going to America lest they lose their Japanese patriotism."

Dr. Danjo Ebina, the scholarly preacher of Tokio, recently addressed a deputation of American Christians in these words: "After the War, Japan must act upon the world's stage; must forsake the imperialism and the nationalism of the past, and adopt cosmopolitanism and awake to the world's consciousness. We Christians must act together with the United States of America, politically and spiritually. We need the help of the Americans to make our people come to the world consciousness."

American Prestige in the Near East

When we pass to the other peoples of Asia, we find the attitude towards America varying somewhat with the friendliness or hostility of the governing class. Turkey, so far as she is represented by the officials, has felt no love for America. For prudential reasons they have protected American merchants and missionaries and even granted a measure of religious and educational toleration, but in their hearts they have abhorred the Yankee and all his ways. Let this be said to our credit. As for the nation at large, America should know that fully eighty per cent of the people regard us with kindly feelings. This is especially true of the peasants in the villages, many of whom not only did not approve the massacring and deportation of the Armenians, but actually sheltered the refugees in their homes. It has not been in vain that American missionaries have lived in their midst these many years and

extended to them the friendly ministry of their hospitals and schools. The winning of these people by tactful, kindly approaches, now that the whole Turkish nation is in a humble state of mind, is one of the challenging tasks before American Christianity.

Turkey, as represented by what were the subject races, especially the Armenians and Syrians, holds America in almost passionate regard. They send their children to the American schools, which have been in their midst for nearly a hundred years. Thousands of their enterprising young men have emigrated to America. During these years of war, when they have suffered more than any peoples of modern times, possibly more than any people in history, they have been upheld by the hope that American democracy might be established in their midst. Now that the political power of Turkey has been crushed, these people ask that the United States shall be designated as the protecting and guiding power over them, until such time as they shall come to autonomy and independence.

If we may regard Russia as essentially Asiatic, there is special significance in the friendly attitude of her masses. Mr. William T. Ellis, who has made extensive investigations on the ground, states that the anti-American propaganda of the Bolsheviks was a complete failure. He maintains, "There is no Russian peasant so remote or benighted that he has not heard of the great Western land of freedom which tries to be brother and friend to every other nation." He adds, "We are now drawing interest on our famine ships of a generation ago, and upon all our ministry to other stricken

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people and our welcome to immigrants and our far-carried ideas of democracy." It is to the credit of American business enterprise that our plows, our harrows, our self-binders and reapers, and our agricultural instruments generally are found throughout the Russian provinces, where they preach the gospel of efficiency and success in a language which the most ignorant peasant can understand.

In India, America may not hope to compete with Great Britain for the affection of the people. When Home Rule is granted, the ties which bind the motherland to her greatest dependency will be stronger than ever. Into this peculiar relationship we may not seek to come. At the same time, as the Indians become better acquainted with us and our ways, and particularly as they break away from caste and begin to travel in foreign lands, they will be turning with increasing favor to the free and generous people of the United States. Already there are signs pointing in that direction. Recently an American traveler was asked to deliver a religious lecture before the students of a prominent college in North India. At the close he invited the students to tarry and ask questions. An eager throng pressed around him and when he was expecting some challenging questions as to Christian theology or ethics, he was surprised to hear them one and all inquire, "How can I get to America?" In other parts of India he had similar experiences. Evidently Oxford is not the only place where Indian young men seek to finish off their training. The amusing side of the matter is suggested by a story told by the late Dr. J. P. Jones. As he was about to

leave India he offered some of his goods for sale, among them a chest of tools. A certain rusty hammer was purchased by a Hindu carpenter, who bore it off with great pride. The next day he returned the hammer and demanded his money. He had taken pains to scour off the rust, in order to ascertain the manufacturer's name, and there cut into the metal he had found the words "Made in Germany." "I want no German hammer," he remarked; "I want my tools 'Made in America.'"

Causes of American Popularity

In the foregoing discussion fact and cause have gone hand in hand, the one suggesting the other. But the full significance of the East's partiality for America can best be appreciated in the light of considerations which have made such an attitude inevitable. Of these three stand out with a good deal of distinctness.

1. *America the Land of Promise.* Throughout the world America spells opportunity, plenty, and freedom. Practically every foreigner who comes to our shores returns a herald of a new dawn for the poor and oppressed of his own people. Particularly do we profit from the enthusiasm of returning students. A recent tabulation shows that about 1,400 Chinese, 1,000 Japanese, 200 Korean, 300 Filipino, 150 East Indian, 2,000 Latin American, and 200 Armenian young men and women are now pursuing studies in the United States. The period of study varies from one to eight years. Nearly all of these expect to return to their native land. Each will become a missionary of American culture and trade. This process has been going

on for decades and accounts for the predisposition in our favor found in so many out-of-the-way places in the world.

2. *The American Record in Diplomacy.* The English historian Creasy, author of "The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World," prophesied that Japan would be opened by the United States, but that the world might expect a policy on our part which he characterized as "bold, intrusive, unscrupulous." The forecasting of this event was soon confirmed, but Creasy's characterization of our spirit proved to be far from the truth. The record of American dealings with Oriental countries is one of the most honorable chapters in human history. No one can read such books as John W. Foster's "American Diplomacy in the Orient" and John Bassett Moore's "The Development of American Diplomacy" without a feeling of justifiable pride in his country. The record is not paralleled on the part of Great Britain or any other nation.

Dr. Gulick pays high tribute to America's honorable treatment of Japan up to the time of the immigration troubles. The consistency of our early record, he holds, accounts largely for Japan's unswerving belief in our fundamental integrity and friendliness. Count Okuma, Japan's "Grand Old Man," speaks warmly and specifically on the same subject. He quotes Saburo Shimada, a Member of Parliament, as saying, "The conclusion of a treaty of intercourse and commerce between Japan and the United States marked a new era in our history, and paved the way for our present position among the Great Powers of the World." Whatever may happen to mar our relations

with Japan there can be no blotting out of that uninterrupted record of friendliness, beginning with the opening of the Japanese ports by Commodore Perry in 1853 and continuing down to President Roosevelt's intervention between Japan and Russia and the Portsmouth Treaty of 1905.

It is when we come to our dealings with China that we find the best evidence of American sincerity and friendliness towards the weaker powers. The record begins with the treaty of 1844, which established the legal status of Americans in China and placed the two countries on an avowed basis of friendship and mutual helpfulness.

Caleb Cushing, our first minister to China, revealed the nobility of his character when he introduced into the treaty a clause prohibiting all traffic in opium between the two countries. No other nation took such action. In fact this treaty was ratified only four years after the "Opium War," waged by England, which resulted in the forcing of the "flood of poison" upon China's helpless millions. In the treaty of 1880, the opium agreement was made even more stringent and binding, while in 1908 America took the initiative, calling together the Opium Commission, which represented the leading nations, to assist China in her great moral battle. When in 1917 the long struggle was ended and the last ounce of opium had been sold, America's rejoicing was hearty and sincere. Now that England has freed herself from complicity in this infamy, it will not be unfair to quote what China's greatest statesman, Li Hung Chang said on the subject. Of England's attitude he remarked, "Opium is a sub-

ject in the discussion of which England and China can never meet on common ground."

A similar good turn was rendered China by the United States in the matter of the abolition of the coolie trade, a form of labor indenture little better than African slavery. This lies so far back in the record that most Americans have no knowledge of the fact, but the Chinese do not forget.

The greatest service of all on the part of the United States was the prevention of the partition of China among the Powers and the preservation of her sovereignty at the instance of John Hay. Beyond any question China owes the integrity of her territory to the friendliness and courage of American diplomats. America alone showed sympathy for the underlying patriotic motives which gave rise to the misdirected and disastrous Boxer uprising of 1900. "Reduced to its lowest terms," says an American missionary, "the Boxer movement was simply a protracted effort on the part of the Chinese people to stop the appropriation of Chinese territory by the European nations."

It will be recalled that in the years just preceding 1900 France had seized a great slice of Southeastern China, Germany had grabbed the peninsula of Kiaochao, England had helped herself to Wei Hai Wei and Russia had taken possession of Port Arthur, which commands the entrance in both directions to Northeast Asia. Take a look at the map and see what this meant to China. The Chinese understood that Europe, having completed the partition of Africa, was now turning to China, whose unlimited natural resources and vast population filled her lustful eye.

They observed that no occasion for taking advantage of China in her helplessness was passed by, no pretext overlooked. There were two favorite methods, as the Chinese viewed the matter — "annexation by railroads and annexation by missionaries." The latter refers to Germany's seizing Kiao-chao as indemnity for the killing by a Chinese mob of two German Catholic missionaries, who, with gross disregard for native sensibilities and Christian proprieties, were carrying on their propaganda close to the tomb of Confucius.

It was in the midst of this unseemly scramble that John Hay, "the Golden Rule Secretary of State," appeared with his policy of territorial integrity and the "Open Door" for trade. In spite of the blustering of the European powers, Hay carried his point and China was saved from extinction.

The matter of the indemnities for the Boxer outrages is fresh in our minds. In the negotiations of 1901 our Government took a stand for strict justice, charging the Chinese only for what appeared to be the actual loss of property and life. The other Powers, conspiring together, imposed indemnities amounting to $350,000,000 and arranged the collections in such a system of delayed payments and compound interest that when China shall have made the last of these remittances in 1930 she will have turned into the treasuries of the Western nations the enormous sum of $630,000,000.

The flagrant injustice involved was revealed by Russia's demand for twenty-nine per cent of the whole, on the ground of having sent 125,000 troops into

Chinese territory, whereas there were just seventy-five Russian soldiers at the siege of Peking, the balance having been disposed in Manchuria in the hope of detaching that great province and annexing it to Siberia. The United States minister, Mr. Conger, in the name of his Government protested against this policy of loot, but in vain. In their humiliation the Chinese looked on and resolved not to forget.

The honorable record in connection with the indemnities was completed by the repayment to China by the United States of the unexpended balance, which amounted to about $12,000,000. We owe it largely to the suggestion of an American missionary, Rev. Arthur Smith, D.D., that the Chinese Government agreed to set apart this sum for the education of Chinese youth in the United States. When Dr. Smith outlined the scheme to President Roosevelt in the winter of 1906, the President, in characteristic fashion, broke in after he had spoken a few minutes and exclaimed, "I entirely agree with you, Dr. Smith. I will see that this plan is carried out."

Many other acts might be cited, such as the persuading of Russia and Japan to regard the neutrality of China proper in the war of 1904; President Roosevelt's securing of peace between Russia and Japan with the return of Manchuria to China in 1905; the American Red Cross relief during the famine of 1907, outstripping all other funds in generosity; the prompt recognition of the Chinese Republic in 1913, America being the first nation to take that step. Americans have no cause to blush over the Chinese page in our diplomatic history.

From the Chinese point of view the only break in the long and honorable record is the exclusion of their emigrants from our shores. This they overlook in view of the complexity of the problem on our side, and the proved friendship of the United States through all these years. They have shown their appreciation in many ways, in none more than by the appointment in 1868 of our minister Anson Burlingame as China's ambassador general to all the Western nations, with plenipotentiary powers to revise treaties and attend to all questions pending at that time. Of this act Bishop Bashford remarks, "No higher proof of the confidence of the Chinese nation was ever given to a foreign resident."

Another sign of China's regard is the sending of an increasing number of her students to our colleges and universities in the expectation that they will return and apply at home the lessons in civilization they have learned in our midst. Attention has been called to America's friendly and helpful reception of these young Orientals, in contrast with Japan's utter failure to equip Chinese students either intellectually or morally for their teaching work at home.

3. *The Influence of American Missionaries.* When Caleb Cushing was negotiating the treaty of 1843, he had as secretaries of his legation Rev. E. C. Bridgman and Dr. Peter Parker, missionaries of the American Board in Canton. This was the famous Dr. Parker, of whom it was said, "He opened China at the point of the lancet." When Commodore Perry needed an interpreter for his historic mission to Japan, he turned to Mr. S. Wells Williams, the missionary and expert in

Oriental languages, the maker of China's first dictionary. Later on Mr. Williams served for twenty-eight years as secretary of the United States legation at Peking. When China, desiring to understand the ways of the Western world, was in need of treatises on international law, it was a Presbyterian missionary, Dr. W. A. P. Martin, who translated into Mandarin "Wheaton's International Law," and the "Guide Diplomatique" of the French.

A few years ago Professor Ross, of Wisconsin University, visited China in order to gather material for that delightful book, "The Changing Chinese." He started out with the determination to have as few dealings as possible with the missionaries, under the notion that they were too prejudiced to furnish reliable information. Before he had been in China many weeks he found that the missionaries were the only foreigners who understood the people and who could furnish full and accurate data as to social and public conditions. His book contains hearty admission of his changed attitude. The same may be said of Mr. Tyler Dennett, who, in his study of political developments in the Far East, found the missionaries to be indispensable as a source of reliable information, and who makes generous recognition of his indebtedness to them in his book, "The Democratic Movement in Asia."

It has not been in vain that the American churches have been sending men of apostolic spirit and breadth into the Orient for these one hundred years. Wherever they have gone — to India, Burma, Siam, China, Japan, Korea, Syria, Turkey, Persia — they have carried a

double gospel, the Gospel of God's redemption in Christ and the gospel of America's friendship for the oppressed. Scrupulously avoiding political propaganda, they have done more to commend the ideals of democracy than all other agencies combined. Had they accomplished nothing but the establishment of free schools throughout the Orient, they would have released a power mighty enough to transform society. Look at their higher institutions of learning: Robert College, on the Bosphorus; the Syrian Protestant College, at Beirut; the Assiut College in Egypt; the Forman Christian College and the Isabella Thoburn College, in Northern India; the Canton Christian College, and St. John's College in China; Silliman Institute in the Philippines; the Doshisha in Japan; and scores of others, each a center of light and power for an immense population. Consider the vast array of lower schools, gathered about the colleges and universities as feeders, which spread intelligence through the cities and villages of each land. We have to do here with a force of incalculable effect.

Scattered even more widely are the churches and the residences of the missionaries, each an exemplar of American culture and life. Some one has said that the basis of trade is friendship. Surely friendship characterizes the missionary in all his dealings with the people. Living in their midst, speaking their tongue, understanding their ways, sympathizing with their point of view, championing their rights, he exerts an influence far beyond that of the ordinary man. America at this time supports nearly 800 Christian workers, men and women, in Japan; nearly 3,000 in China; over

5,000 in India; eighty-six in Persia; 309 in Turkey; with proportionate numbers in other lands. Each one of these is an advance agent of American ideals and life.

And now comes the China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, with its great plans for placing the practice of medicine on a scientific and adequate basis throughout the Chinese Republic. Money will not be spared for securing the best possible results. There are to be medical schools at Peking, Shanghai, Changsha, and possibly at other centers. Affiliated with the schools are to be hospitals equipped and manned equal to the best institutions in the world. In order that Chinese youth may be prepared for high-grade medical work, scientific courses are to be provided in mission colleges. Mission hospitals are to be staffed with extra doctors and nurses and affiliated with the central medical schools. In every possible way this great humanitarian movement is being carried out in the spirit of missionary endeavor, even to giving the mission boards generous representation upon its directorate. This is America's latest gift to the East, a ministry of healing on the highest levels of efficiency to one quarter of the human race!

The Secret of America's Power

China is the typical nation of the East. In antiquity, in area, in population, in natural resources, in race characteristics, she overshadows all the rest. When we talk of an expansion of our trade in the Orient, it is China that we have in mind. When we consider the betterment of the human race, China's

millions occupy our first thoughts. Let an incident, then, from the China of today serve to interpret the significance of the fact that it is to America that the East looks for example and help.

After the expulsion of the Manchus and the establishment of a republican form of government, it was found that the better educated among the Chinese were developing an extraordinary interest in every thing pertaining to the United States. In the city of Fenchowfu the missionaries took advantage of the situation to organize a class for the study of American institutions and law. They placed the class in the hands of a talented Chinese pastor, who had been graduated from a college in the United States, and invited in the gentry of the city. The proposition was well received and every Sunday afternoon the leading citizens to the number of one hundred and fifty attended in a body.

For several weeks they listened to lectures on the American Constitution, the structure of our political life, our public schools, our commercial system, and kindred themes. To all this they gave close and apparently sympathetic attention; but at the end of one of the lectures a member of the class rose and addressed the pastor to this effect: "We Chinese appreciate all you have been telling us about the great republic across the seas; and no doubt the facts you have been relating are important; but we have gained the impression that the real secret of America's success is not in these things you are discussing, but in their sacred book, which we believe they call the Bible. We understand that it is in the teachings of this book we

must find what China needs today. If this is so, why should we continue studying the things you have been giving us, when we might be studying the Book?"

This, of course, was the moment for which the pastor and the missionaries had been eagerly waiting, only they desired the suggestion to come spontaneously from the class itself. Accordingly, upon its own initiative, the lecture course in American law and life was transformed into a straight Bible class, in which this company of Chinese gentry set itself to the study of Christianity in its application to national problems.

This is not an isolated case. All over China today may be found groups of the leading citizens, the literati and gentry, searching the Christian Scriptures for light upon China's political problem. America's belief in the Bible as the textbook of the nations has impressed the Chinese as the most fundamental thing in our life. And what is true of China now will be true of Japan and India and the lands of the Near East if America knows the day of her opportunity.

FACT VI

AMERICA BREAKS FROM HER ISOLATION

"We hazard nothing in saying that not only the most important event of the past twenty years but one of the most important events of all time was the advent of the United States into the family of nations." This is the opening sentence in Professor John Bassett Moore's great work on "The Principles of American Diplomacy." In the discussion which follows as to the bearing upon the future of the world of America's entrance into the War, Professor Moore does not hesitate to use such expressions as "profound significance," "far-reaching effects."[1]

When Lord Balfour came to the United States in the spring of 1917, bearing the greetings of Great Britain, he was asked by a reporter to state briefly what, to his mind, was the significance of America's declaration of war. He replied:

"That this great people should throw themselves whole-heartedly into this mighty struggle, prepared for all efforts and sacrifice that may be required to win success for this most righteous cause, is an event at once so happy and so momentous that only the historian of the future will be able, as I believe, to measure its true proportions."

[1] John Bassett Moore, "Principles of American Diplomacy," Edition of 1918.

Equally impressive sentiments were being expressed in Great Britain at that time. One of the most striking utterances was that of Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons. He was quoted by the *London Times* as having said:

"I doubt whether even now the world realizes the full significance of the step which the United States has taken. It is one of the most disinterested acts in history. It is not a calculation of material gain or a hope of territorial aggrandisement, but the constraining force of conscience and of humanity which has enabled the President to carry with him a united nation into the hazards and horrors of the greatest war in history. The United States has now dedicated herself without hesitation or reserve, heart and soul and strength to the greatest of causes. Stimulated and fortified by her comradeship, we here renew our fealty and devotion."

On the same day (April 19, 1918, the anniversary, by the way, of the Battle of Lexington and Concord), Lord Curzon delivered in the House of Lords a speech which contained this statement:

"The entry of the United States into the War stamps the character of the struggle as an uprising of the conscience of the world in a combined effort to put an end to the rule of Satan on this earth."

These utterances, coming from statesmen of scholarly reserve and thoughtfulness, spoken in the first flush of enthusiasm, have not been modified by anything said or written since as an interpretation of America's decision, after long delay, to stand by the side of England and her Allies. The moment the die was cast the world knew its profound significance. It was one

of those historical events which instantly clarify the atmosphere of question and debate. Three years of argument based upon political provincialism and commercial greed, three years of pacifist persuasion and academic theory swept away by a single act of Congress! We discovered in those days new meaning in the lines which were written during the Spanish War:

"For we, who scarce yet see
Wisely to rule ourselves,
Are set where ways are met
To lead the waiting nations on.
Not for our own land now
Are battle-flags unfurled,
But for the world."

America's Consistent Choice

In the early days of our participation in the War, the comment of the press in the United States dwelt upon the seeming inconsistency of the action. It was declared to be "an astonishing reversal of national policy," the "deliberate abandonment of the ideals handed down from Washington and firmly entrenched in national consciousness." It was held that by breaking from her isolation, America had, in a sense, broken from herself. The constructive policy upon which a century's growth had been based was "thrown into the discard." America had "jumped out of her skin." It is to the credit of the editorial writers and public speakers who placed such a construction upon the event that almost without exception they regarded the national inconsistency as a virtue rather than a fault; they held it to be the inconsistency of growth, the transformation of a people's opinion under the

compulsion of a world situation which no human mind could have foreseen. Emerson's saying, "A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little statesmen and philosophers and divines," brought comforting reflections to many.

This humble-mindedness was more creditable to our spirit than to our judgment. Fortunately there were voices like that of our former President, Mr. Taft, who had read American history to better purpose, and who insisted that our joining in the World War was inherent not only in our ideals as a nation, but in the trend of our history from the very beginning.

We Americans have undergone a rapid and revolutionary process of education since April, 1917. For over a century, on the Fourth of July, we have been reading "The Immortal Declaration," only to realize now that it was essentially a world document in its idea and scope. When the Continental Congress proclaimed that "all men are created equal" and that they have "the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and when furthermore they asserted that the right to rule is derived "from the consent of the governed," this country committed itself to a theory as universal as the human race. The signers of the Declaration were far-sighted men. They believed that they were placing their names to a great human document. They realized that the challenge of the new world would be bitterly resisted by the old world powers. No one can read the letters of Washington, of Hamilton, and of Franklin and not feel that America was dedicated at birth to the cause to which she committed herself in 1917.

In the early days of the War references were frequently made to Washington's advice in his Farewell Address in the matter of keeping clear of European alliances and embroilments, the drift of comment being that, having for over a century regarded the Address as a priceless political heritage, the sheet-anchor of our international policy, America at last had thrown it over. "Poor old Washington!" they said in effect, "he was a great man and a prophet in his way, but he could not look ahead to such times as these."

A sufficient reply was made by President Wilson in one of his Liberty Loan addresses, when he used these words:

"We still read Washington's immortal warning against 'entangling alliances' with full comprehension and an answering purpose. But only special and limited alliances entangle; and we recognize and accept the duty of a new day, in which we are permitted to hope for a general alliance which will avoid entanglements and clear the air of the world for common understandings and the maintenance of common rights."

Well said; only the phrase "entangling alliances" was not used by Washington, but by Jefferson. It was President Taft who, early in the discussion, remarked that it might be well to read what Washington actually said as to the subject of our European relations before assuming that we had broken with his ideals. He pointed out that the famous advice was contained in these words: " 'Tis our true policy to steer clear of *permanent* alliances with any portion of the foreign world." Similarly, Mr. Roosevelt has re-

minded us of what he calls Washington's "Forgotten Maxim": "To be prepared for war is the most effectual means to promote peace." [2]

Beyond question the idea of Washington, as of Hamilton and of the other great Federalists, was that the United States should develop in political isolation from the balance of the world, especially Europe. This they considered was demanded because of our geographical position, the complex character of our population, the immensity of our undeveloped resources, and our extreme weakness as a nation. Our problems were distinct from those of Europe and Asia. Our very existence might be imperiled, were we to take sides in the quarrels which were dividing the Continental Powers. Not for a moment, however, did our great Founder lose sight of the bearing of the American experiment upon the life of the world. Shortly after the adjournment of the convention which drafted our Constitution, Washington wrote to Lafayette that the United States would one day "have weight in the scale of empires." After his first inaugural he wrote: "The establishment of our new government seemed to be the last great experiment for promoting human happiness by a reasonable compact in civil society." Again he spoke of his labors "to advance the felicity of my country and mankind."

It should not be necessary to trace this idea of

[2] In the interest of accuracy, not to say fairness, it should be said that Mr. Roosevelt does not correctly quote Washington's words to Congress on the subject of preparedness. What Washington said was this: "To be prepared for war is one of the most effective means of preserving peace."

America's mission to the world through the utterances of other great leaders and interpreters like Hamilton, Jay, Adams, Monroe, Webster, and Seward. Suffice it to know that the note of universality has never been entirely lacking in any period, least of all during the Civil War, when many supposed we were fighting solely to preserve our own unity. By common consent, the greatest single utterance in American history is the Gettysburg address of President Lincoln. In that address the greatest sentence interpreted the struggle as the effort to maintain popular government for the benefit of the human race. We read the familiar phrase so glibly that we forget its tremendous sweep. "That government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish *from the earth.*" It was a universal ideal for which our fathers fought and died in 1861.

Strange, indeed, that after such a founding, after such a testing, we had to wait for a member of a sister republic, Bartholdi, the Frenchman, to symbolize and declare our great ideal, when he erected in our leading port the statue of "Liberty Enlightening the *World.*" Stranger still, that we found ourselves so unprepared for the event which hurled us into the world's strife for freedom and righteousness.

Steps in Expansion

The above considerations are enhanced when we trace the actual steps by which America has come into a position of world influence and power. We owe it to Mr. Taft that the process of territorial expansion has been brought to the attention of the American people

in a way so plain and compelling that even school boys can understand that we were headed for a world program long before Congress declared war against the Central Powers.

Most opportunely there appeared about the same time a book by Dr. H. H. Powers, entitled "America Among the Nations," in which the author traced the process of expansion through our entire history in the light of the national temperament and the compelling circumstances of the time. This is a book which should be read by every American who cares for a candid view of our territorial growth. Dr. Powers reminds us that in the process of "rounding out the continent" we were led into complicated and often threatening negotiations with nine other powers, namely, Great Britain, France, Spain, Holland, Russia, Denmark, Mexico, Colombia, and Panama.

As to our possessions overseas, such as are in no wise involved in a strictly continental policy, the record is so recent that one is distressed to find how few have it in mind. A list of American colonies and protectorates, with the dates of acquisition, should suffice to enlighten any who imagine that 1917 saw our first plunge into world politics.

Here is the record:

Hawaii, annexed by revolution		1898
Porto Rico Guam Philippine Islands	annexed by treaty, following war with Spain	1899
Cuba, protectorate assumed, following war with Spain		1899
Tutuila (Samoa) annexed by treaty		1900
Panama Canal Zone, purchased		1904

Santo Domingo, protectorate assumed.....	1908
Nicaragua, virtual protectorate assumed...	1916
Danish West-Indies, purchased.....	1917

Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines have been spoken of as "our stepping-stones across the Pacific." Very good. But stepping-stones to what? Clearly to Asia. That, at least, is the interpretation which Asia and Europe have placed upon the acquisition of these islands. Why not be frank and recognize it ourselves? We seek no territory in Asia; we ask no control over her governments; we do desire to participate in her trade and to help her to a larger and higher life; and we stand ready to defend her against the aggression of selfish powers. The plain historical fact is that when Admiral Dewey decided to remain in Manila Bay, America then and there became an Asiatic Power. By that one act our destinies became involved in the network of problems, schemes, negotiations, and possible wars in which Europe had been entangled for decades.

Dr. Powers does not hesitate to use the word *imperialistic* in describing our international policy. He characterizes the first century of American history as a record of "*unparalleled* territorial expansion." Referring to the popular astonishment over our entrance into the World War, he remarks: "Perhaps no great people ever reached so advanced a stage of development under the influence of such complacent prepossessions."

The War and the New Outlook upon the World

All this was changed by a stroke. There are no "prepossessions" today. At last America knows her-

self and her world. The days of our isolation and aloofness are gone forever. The transformation was sudden, radical, permanent.

The significance of the changed point of view is suggested by the never-to-be-forgotten incident in France in connection with the celebration at the tomb of Lafayette in the Picpus Cemetery of Paris, on July 4, 1917. It will be recalled that this was the occasion which gave rise to the expression, "*Lafayette, we are here.*" As the story has gone the rounds of the press and of patriotic gatherings the words have been attributed to various army officers, especially to General Pershing. The evidence appears to show that we owe this noble utterance to Colonel Stanton, who commanded a regiment in the vicinity of Paris on the day in question. The words appealed powerfully to the American imagination, in view of their rare appropriateness to the occasion. It was felt also that they carried a deeper meaning, as suggesting America's new sense of international responsibility — her readiness to be wherever the need is greatest. Hereafter our effort must be to live up to that utterance and to be ready to say "We are here" when any part of the world cries out in distress. Of this we may be certain — that we shall not be held back through a mistaken idea of our political destiny. *America has joined the world.*[3]

[3] The proper accrediting of the interesting Lafayette incident has been attempted by a writer in the New York *Nation*, Professor Albert Schinz, who cites a French pamphlet containing a speech by M. Georges Leygnes, in which this passage is found: "*L'Angleterre, l'Italie, et le Japon sont là; la Russie fut et sera là;*

If we ask ourselves as to the nature of this change which has come over us as a nation, we shall find it in three particulars.

In the first place, the world outlook is no longer a possession of the few but of the many. It is no longer a matter of here and there a statesman, a publicist, an editor entertaining imperialistic views drawn from a scrutiny of our past. We have seen the awakening of the nation as a whole to a sense of world relationship and responsibility. To use Dr. Gulick's word, "We realize that we can no longer be a fragment. We must be part of the whole."

In the second place, we find ourselves united in an effort to make the new ideal effective. Possibly the majority of our people before the War would have assented to the idea, as an academic proposition, that America should consider herself a World Power. Their natural pride might have led them to a theoretical admission of that kind. Today, in every part of the country, among all classes of people, it is a matter of profound conviction that we stand committed to a program of world-wide influence and service.

Thirdly, and this is suggested by both the above considerations, we discover today a motive in our hearts of which we need not be ashamed. To self-interest, which has held a conspicuous place in our outlook upon the world, and which, under proper restraints, is a perfectly proper motive, we now add

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la Roumanie, la Belgique, la Serbie, le Monténégro sont là! A Picpus, sur la tombe du compagnon d'armes de Washington, le colonel Stanton, commandant le premier bataillon Américain a dit: 'La Fayette, nous sommes là!'"

benevolence. We are out to do good as well as to receive good. Our internationalism is not only self-regarding but other-regarding. We see the need of our section of the world in the light of the need of the world's whole. Moreover, we stand ready to make the needful sacrifices in order that other nations may share in our good things. The War was the conversion of the nation to altruism. It was the most conspicuous example in history of the application of the Golden Rule to international attitudes. It has been so construed in Europe, it has been so construed by the weaker peoples of the earth. The United States is now understood by the Asiatic peoples as the protector of the weak, and as standing for the inviolability of national agreements. They know that here is a nation whose word means good for all and whose word will be kept. We, on our part, acknowledge with gratitude the new estimate of our worth to humanity and accept our share of responsibility for the world's good order and happiness.

America a Missionary Nation

All this means that we have become what President Roosevelt said we were some years ago, "a missionary nation." The expression attracted not a little attention at the time, but it was more prophetic than descriptive. It was true to our ideals, but not true to our practice. It is well to recall that when Mr. Roosevelt used this expression only a small minority of church people, possibly a fifth of the total membership, stood avowedly and earnestly for a world vision in Church and State. Moreover those who rose to this

conception were, as a rule, ridiculed mercilessly by the press. They were a favorite stock in trade for novelists and dramatists who sought for some popular object of contempt. Even by their fellow church members they were regarded as ultra-pietistic, visionary, impracticable, impossible. A missionary convention would get scant attention in any community and none too much attention in any church. Ministers for the most part considered it a great virtue to preach on international Christianity. It was referred to as a topic "not exactly popular in my congregation." When missionaries or missionary secretaries preached in the churches not infrequently they were asked to disguise their topics. All honor to the noble few, in press and pulpit and pew, who drew their ideals of national responsibility from the New Testament and not from the academy or the counting room! All welcome to the many who have at last waked up to the realization that no nation — not even America — liveth to itself. Perhaps the War is worth all it has cost from having secured this one result.

In view of our recent conversion to world duties and responsibilities, it is encouraging to find a readiness to give the new principle free play, even though it may involve no little sacrifice on our part. We are beginning to recognize that politically it is likely to carry us far afield, perhaps to the very ends of the earth. It is hardly conceivable that we should refuse counsel and help to any nation, certainly not any weak nation, which desires to shape its institutions upon American models. A good many among us will wish to go farther than that and to say that America must not refuse direct governmental responsibility for such back-

ward people as may be urged upon us by the concert of powers.

Who is to take charge of the newly freed nationalities of Europe and Asia which may not be ready for self-government for a generation or more? Who is to become their protector against the aggression of selfish neighbors? Who is to protect them against themselves? Who is to organize their political, economic, and educational life? Who is to save them for democracy? Are we to have no responsibility here? The United States went into the War in behalf of the rights of the smaller nations. We informed the world that we would do our full share in making liberty secure for all. We helped to win the War and to that extent it may be said we fulfilled our duty; but we know now this was but the beginning of the process, that the problems of peace are as difficult and as grave as those of war. Is it conceivable that America should withdraw at this point and say, "Having brought the War to a successful issue, we now propose to return to our former pursuits. We wash our hands of any further responsibility. As to what remains of the world-task, we leave it to England, France, and Italy"? It is gratifying to find that American sentiment is not setting in that direction. Rather we find men saying, "We went into the War from the highest of motives in respect to the needs of the weaker nations. We fought not only for their freedom, but for their right to prosperity and happiness. We propose to stand by them to their end. We propose to do our share in the problems of peace as in those of war. As a nation, we will 'carry on.'"

The discussion of this interesting point has centered round the disposition of the races which compose what was the Turkish Empire, especially the Armenians, Syrians, and Palestinian Jews. It is no secret that many of the political and religious leaders of these people desire to come under the protection of the Stars and Stripes until such time as they may be ready for self-rule. After six centuries of Turkish robbery and oppression, it is no wonder they find themselves unprepared for the responsibilities of complete independence. They are too poor to develop the resources of the land and too much split into factions to administer equal justice. Where shall they turn for help? They recall that for a hundred years America has been sending missionaries and educators to them and spending millions of dollars in establishing humanitarian institutions in their midst. They know we do not covet a square foot of their territory. They believe in our disinterestedness. They are assured that, if we accepted control, it would be in the capacity of trustees; we would not, Europe-wise, seek to fasten our hold upon the country; we would retire at the earliest possible moment and rejoice heartily in their ability to assume control of their own affairs. Can we wonder that they are looking in our direction for help?

It is significant that prominent British statesmen, like Viscount Bryce, have been led to seek the same solution for the vexed problem of the Near East. It is definitely urged in high quarters that the Peace Conference should ask the United States, under suitable treaty guarantees, to undertake the government of a large part of the territory comprising the former

Turkish Empire. Lord Bryce argues strongly for the development of the Turkish states, aside from Arabia, as a political and geographical unit centering in Constantinople. To divide this territory between England, France, Italy, and Greece, he holds, would be to retard its proper development and to plant the seeds of future jealousy and strife. Of the leading races inhabiting this area — Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, and Jews — he finds none in a position to rule over the others, or even over themselves. He concludes that the protectorate cannot be offered to one of the European Allies without arousing the suspicions of the world. Such a course would be open to the charge that we have put Germany out in order to put a rival power in. The neutral states of Europe are excluded from consideration as lacking the resources and prestige necessary for so grave a responsibility. Thus, by a process of elimination, Lord Bryce reaches the conclusion that America is the only Power in a position to exercise rule over these people of Bible lands.

The Bryce program is supported by not a few students of the Eastern question in America, conspicuous among whom are Dr. James L. Barton, Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and Rev. A. M. Rihbany, minister of the Church of the Disciples, Boston, himself a native of Syria.[4]

The idea that America should rule in the place of the discredited Turk is so opposed to our national tradi-

[4] For an interesting and well-balanced discussion of this question see "America Save the Near East," by Abraham Mitrie Rihbany.

tions and temperament that when it was first broached, people fairly gasped in astonishment. The proposition was called "fantastic in the extreme," "preposterous." Sober second thought has led a good many to revise their first impressions and to admit that the plan has much to commend it. Certainly it should not be disposed of in the spirit of lofty scorn or ridicule. Having already assumed responsibility for Cuba at our very door, and for the Philippines on the other side of the world, is there any inherent reason why the United States should not perform a like friendly act in behalf of a distracted land half way between? Few would argue that on purely political grounds we should involve ourselves in this most intricate problem of world adjustment. On the ground of general humanitarian interests and of world peace the question should be taken up at Versailles without prejudice. If America should be led to assume this task, it would be the most unselfish service ever rendered by one nation to another in a time of peace.

Whatever opinions may be held on the subject of America's assuming governmental responsibility in distant parts of the earth, there can be no question as to the obligation resting upon us in the matter of the world-wide dissemination of the principles of Christian civilization as we have worked them out here at home. A fine setting forth of our opportunity in this sphere is found in the Phi Beta Kappa address of former President Eliot, of Harvard, in which he discussed America's characteristic achievements in the realm of civilization. He lists five things as constitutiong our offering to the race: peace keeping; religious toleration; the develop-

ment of manhood suffrage; the welcoming of newcomers; the diffusion of well-being.

President Eliot believes that every candid American citizen would wish to make qualifications and deductions with regard to every one of these things. He seeks to guard his own statements against undue inference; he would make no egotistical boast. But that he has correctly set forth America's unique achievements in the realm of civilization few among us will question. But have we a right to call these things contributions? In theory, Yes; in practice, No. They are contributions in the sense that we have said to the nations, "Here they are — come and get them." They are not contributions in the sense that in any earnest thoroughgoing fashion we have attempted to give them to mankind. What remains is that these achievements shall be made a practical matter in the world's life.

America is compelled to world service by the logic of her own achievements. Glance at President Eliot's list and see if you can discover an item that is not universal in its nature and scope. "Peace-keeping" — is there anything American about that? Are we to claim a monopoly of the disposition to respect rights of others, a monopoly of justice and good will among men, or does this ideal belong to the race as such? "Religious toleration" — is that a privilege bestowed by the Creator upon the United States of America, or does it belong equally to Arabia, Turkey, Afghanistan, and Tibet? Consider the last and most inclusive item — "The diffusion of well-being." America is the most favored of all lands in this respect. In physical

condition she stands at the top of the list. In intellectual and spiritual well-being she is well to the front. In the diffusion of all these — and that is President Eliot's point — she leads the world. What then? The more is the duty of altruism pressed home. America must share her well-being with the world or become the most selfish nation upon earth.

Let us be even more specific. Take the matter of our physical well-being, or in plain language good health. Consider our numerous medical schools, richly endowed; our abundance of physicians, one for every 600 of the population; our generous supply of nurses, the best trained in the world; our hospitals, the largest and best equipped on earth; our sanitary engineers, and our health departments of world fame. The New York Directory of Charities fills 800 pages of a closely-printed volume and lists some 200 hospitals. Other cities make a corresponding showing. Have we a divine right to these things, as against the remainder of the world, or does God purpose to have all men healthy and strong?

Illustrations of how our opulent land may serve the world in practical ways could be multiplied indefinitely. They would be particularly impressive in its realm of education. America today is offered the chance of educating China. Think of it! The chance to impress our political, economic, and religious ideals upon one quarter of the human race, to bind those people to us forever as neighbors and friends! Our minds may well kindle over such a prospect.

The picture would not be complete without the thought of America leading the forces which make for

spiritual regeneration. The nations must be brought to understand the deepest secret of our strength. America is missionary in her ideals because America is Christian in her belief. We can take to ourselves the words which St. Paul wrote to the church at Colossæ: "The word of the truth of the gospel, which is come unto you, as it is in all the world; and bringeth forth fruit, as it doth also in you, since the day ye heard of it, and knew the grace of God in truth." We believe our civilization to be the product of the message which the apostles of Christ spread throughout the Roman world. We recognize that the fruit of the Gospel has been made to abound here as in no other section of the earth. What then? Are we to keep these blessings to ourselves, or are we to share them with the human race?

That is the issue of Americanism raised by the World War.

FACT VII

AMERICA AND GREAT BRITAIN IN A FELLOWSHIP OF SERVICE

Have we, in the preceding discussion, overstated the case for America? Are the considerations adduced under Facts V and VI tantamount to shouting in the hearing of Europe and the rest of the world, "We are the people! Behold the destiny of the race is in our hands!" Have we been feeding the flames — already too high — of our national egotism, not to say bumptiousness? No doubt we have run the risk of such a charge; and no doubt there are those who will remark, "What we Americans need is not more pride, but more humble-mindedness."

If so, we now make amends — generous, full, and free; for Americans everywhere are saying that even more wonderful than the emergence of our country as a world power is the reunion of the Anglo-American family. If there is any glory, we propose to share it with the Mother Country; nay, we propose that she shall have by far the larger part. For to her it belongs.

America's Appreciation of Great Britain

The intense admiration which America has had for the attitude and achievements of the Mother Country found its highest expression on August 4, 1918, in connection with the celebration of the fourth anniver-

sary of Britain's entry into the War. The celebration came at the time when we were receiving the first news of severe losses in battle. Those were the tragic days of Chateau-Thierry and Soissons, when our troops were having their first experiences of fighting on a large scale. Our minds were occupied by the thought that the splendid young fellows who had gone out from our churches, our colleges, and our homes were pouring out their blood on the fields of France. Long lists of casualties were appearing for the first time in the papers. With what trembling we scanned the fateful columns day by day! Sad messages were coming into American homes in every section of the land. Gold stars were appearing on our service flags. At last the fearful storm had broken upon us. The days of our security were past, we had become sharers in the agony of the world.

And this helped us to appreciate England and Canada far more than in the past. If our admiration had been great, it now became colossal. For four long years they had experienced these things and had not complained. The rector of Trinity Church, New York, voiced the feelings of America at that time in these fitting words:

"The debt that we, and all who love freedom, owe to the British Empire, is one that holds its own great place in the world's gratitude, and that can never be repaid nor forgotten. What words can express the debt that we, and the world, owe at this moment and have owed during these four years to the British Fleet, keeping its ceaseless watch for all of us in the grey North Sea? From the first week of the War Britain has poured out her treasure and her blood without

limit in the cause that is common to us all. It is Britain's blockade that has held the German Fleet captive in the safety of the harbor from which it has scarcely dared to emerge. It is Britain's ships that have cleared the seas of every German vessel, save only the undersea pirates who war on women and children and shoot defenseless sailors in their boats; and these foul craft are now largely controlled, thank God, with the aid which our own gallant Navy is proud to render. It is British transports that have carried across the ocean sixty per cent of the army of our noble boys now in France, where they have made such a glorious beginning, and have brought such unshakable confidence to our war-worn allies. It is British destroyers which have helped in large part to convoy these transports in safety. It is the men of Britain who came voluntarily from all parts of the earth to fight for freedom beneath her flag, and to form the greatest volunteer army the world has ever seen. It is Britain, a million of whose brave sons lie today in soldiers' graves, and whose casualties during the great drive of last March numbered 40,000 or more each separate week."

A prominent metropolitan paper utilized the anniversary for declaring that few nations in the history of the world have ever presented a nobler spectacle of effort in war than England has presented in these four years of struggle.

"While putting 13.3 per cent of her entire population in the forces, she has intensified and magnified her industries. She has submitted herself, for the effective prosecution of the War, to the heaviest taxation ever known. They have pushed their public debt (Jan. 1, 1917) up to $16,847,000,000 and their interest charge up to $619,000,000. Not only do they cheerfully bear these burdens, but they are ready to increase them for the sake of the cause we are all

fighting for. It has been a revelation of national pluck and competence. Acknowledging this magnificent endeavor, claiming the share of our blood in the fame of it, and reiterating the pledge of our devotion to the joint cause of Mother Country and Daughter Country, we may salute England on this day of her immortal honor, and speed to her our earnest hope that long ere another fourth of August has come she will be in the full of enjoyment of that peace with victory that she has so richly merited."

Similarly pulpit and press in all parts of the country vied with each other in paying tribute to England's gallantry and perseverance. Three things stood conspicuous in the comment of the day: the chivalrous attitude of the entire nation towards Belgium and France; the sturdiness of the homefolks, especially the men and women of gentle birth; the fighting qualities of British soldiers. Praise was about equally divided between the nation as a whole for its exhibition of unselfishness in purpose and devotion to high principle, and the men at the front for their superb courage and endurance.

When Lloyd George announced on August 7, 1918, that Great Britain alone had raised for the Army and Navy 6,250,000 men, for the most part voluntarily, that the dominions had contributed 1,000,000 men, and India 1,250,000 men, making 8,500,000 in all for the armies of the Empire, and when it was added that 5,000,000 British women who never worked before had voluntarily gone to fill the places at home of the men at the front, who could withhold grateful and enthusiastic praise? America was seeking to do her full share, but she was not boasting in those days nor has the

true American been given to boasting at any point in the struggle. If the event had not been too immense, too tragic for such a disposition, England's example would have been a sufficient curb.

The War has educated the American people in many respects, but in none more than in the matter of our obligations to Great Britain. It is a commonly expressed belief today that England's heroism early in the War saved the situation for us as well as for France. It is worth recalling, however, that from the very beginning there have been those among us — not a few — who realized that the cause of England was the cause of liberty throughout the world, and that least of all could a country like America afford to stand off and say, "This is no concern of ours." The ties of ancestry, of travel, of common life and purpose, which had grown appreciably stronger in recent years, became inexpressibly tender as we saw the people of the motherland — her scholars, her poets, her statesmen, her noblest workers in every department of life — going forth to die for the safety of the world. No lines have been written more expressive of America's new feeling at that time, than those of Juliet Whiton:

"I longed to go to England,
And walk across the downs,
I longed to go to England
To the little English towns
Where all the brave young English hearts
Once lived, for which they died:
I longed to go to England,
I longed to live in England,
I longed to be of England
And share her sorrowing pride.

They lived so strong for England,
Those poets, grave and gay,
They died so young for England —
They're dying every day —
The haunting music of their songs
Their braver hearts will tell,
Because they gave for England,
Because they fought for England,
Because they died for England,
And died, oh, none so well!"

Great Britain's Appreciation of America

On the other hand, there has been no lack of appreciation on the part of the British public of America's destined part in the great struggle. We knew we were needed. After the collapse of Russia, we knew we were needed sorely. But few among us were prepared for the burst of gratification which came from the British press and from parliamentary leaders the moment the decision was reached by the vote of Congress, April 6, 1917. Said Lloyd George at that time:

"America has at one bound become a world power in a sense she never was before. She waited until she found a cause worthy of her traditions. The American people held back until they were fully convinced the fight was not a sordid scrimmage for power and possessions, but an unselfish struggle to overthrow a sinister conspiracy against human liberty and human right. Once that conviction was reached, the great Republic of the West has leaped into the arena and she stands now side by side with the European democracies who, bruised and bleeding, after three years of grim conflict, are still fighting the most savage foe that ever menaced the freedom of the world."

England was ringing with utterances of this kind, whose sincerity needed no defense. On every side it was recognized that our coming in had saved the day for the Allies. Dr. Lang, the Archbishop of York, who visited the United States soon after our declaration of war, described France as "worn to the bone," Italy as "standing at bay," Russia as "dissolved into the element from which it was created," and the civilized world as "facing the greatest crisis in its history." He made an appeal for "a united English-speaking people as the only possible hope for ending the war with a decisive victory." "The time has come," he declared, "when the people of the United States must save the situation."

It is interesting to compare the utterances of leading Englishmen at that time with reference to the specific causes for thanksgiving. The winning of the War beyond any question through American intervention naturally stood out conspicuously. But scarcely less marked was the feeling of satisfaction, deep and strong, over America's support in the matter of the moral character of the struggle. The very fact of our deliberateness in reaching a decision added to the impressiveness of the verdict when it was rendered. Multitudes of Americans, probably the vast majority of them, cannot regard with complacency the fact that when a struggle involving the very existence of a civilization based upon justice and humanity was at stake, our country did not take her stand by the side of Great Britain and France at an earlier date; but to our English friends the delay seems to have brought the sense of a far weightier judgment.

Underlying both of these considerations was the recognition of the reunited Anglo-American stock as one of the momentous facts of history. Not all have discerned the higher significance of our partnership with Great Britain, but there are prophetic souls on both sides of the water to whom the vision has come and who will not rest until it has been realized in a glorious fellowship of service in behalf of the world. The *London Times* in a leading editorial, appearing a few days after our entrance into the War, declared, "The future of the world depends upon the closest cooperation between the two great Anglo-Saxon democracies."

The Fundamental Unity

Some may argue that this is too optimistic a view, that when this war enthusiasm is over and the two countries settle down to the grind and conflict of the world's economic life, each will go its own way, regardless of the other, and that we may even experience the sharpest kind of rivalry for world trade and prestige. It may be; but it is hardly conceivable, since such a falling apart would involve the denial of all that is fundamental in the civilization which we now recognize as our common possession. Already we have come to feel that the discovery of our deeper unity is the best possible pledge of future cooperation. Henceforth America and Great Britain are to pull together. That is the overwhelming verdict of the two countries.

It is highly significant that in neither country is a formal alliance being urged. The instability of alliances between pairs or groups of states in the face of severe

economic pressure or political threatening is fairly well understood in these days. The past few years have been peculiarly fruitful in baneful examples. No sane man in England or the United States desires a compact from which the other nations would be shut out. Our alliance rests on a deeper foundation: on the possession of a common history, a common language, a common literature, a common basis of law, a common religion, and, above all, common ideals of civilization. With such a background the union simply had to be. If the two countries had not found each other as a result of the War, they would have made the discovery in some other way.

It is not to the credit of either country that we have been so long in reaching this understanding. Possibly the greater blame rests upon the United States, in view of our indebtedness to the Mother Country for pretty much everything which is fundamental to our political life. In the book already quoted, "America Among the Nations," Dr. Powers has a noble chapter entitled "The Great Fellowship," meaning the fellowship between Great Britain and the United States. He maintains that in the years immediately preceding the War Britain was far more conscious than we of the essential unity of the Anglo-Saxon world.

"Her dealings with the great dominions which, despite their stoutly asserted independence, are so indisputably one with herself have doubtless accustomed her to the idea of an underlying unity as nothing in our experience has done. Moreover, her position in Europe, on the firing line of the great race struggle, has taught her, as we have not been taught, the necessity of race solidarity, if the Anglo-Saxon civilization is to

resist the dangers which threaten it. Of the whole Anglo-Saxon fellowship, none have felt so little, or had so little occasion to feel, the reality of that fellowship as ourselves."

However that may be, both countries have made giant strides in mutual understanding and appreciation since April, 1917. America, for one thing, has been restudying her own history, with the result that we are becoming just a little ashamed of some of the conceptions of the British Government and the British people which were taught us in childhood. If the historians of late have not spoiled some of our best stories of Revolutionary and pre-Revolutionary days, they certainly are making havoc of some of our pet theories. Here is Professor McLaughlin, of the University of Chicago, speaking of the American Revolution as "a critical incident in the development of British Liberalism." He traces back to the sixteenth century the forces which expressed themselves later in the Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution, and which he finds at that early day were in conflict with the old autocratic and oligarchal traditions. In one of his lectures, given in England in the spring of 1918, he is reported as saying that the American Revolution was "the England of the seventeenth century arising to combat the England of the eighteenth." "We," he remarked, "were the England of the seventeenth century, and we were inspired by the principles of the Cromwellian uprising."[1]

Here, too, is Professor George Burton Adams of Yale, in his "An Outline Sketch of English Constitu-

[1] New York *Nation*, July 20, 1918.

tional History," talking about the "ecumenic character of the English Constitution." He maintains that no country outside the British Empire is so peculiarly and palpably English in its laws and institutions as our own. "All of what is fundamental in our political system — the supremacy of law over the Government, the representative system, individual liberty, the sovereignty of the people — is derived from England and from nowhere else." He urges that the relatively superficial differences between a republic and a constitutional monarchy should not be permitted to obscure the fundamental unity which may exist.

These reinterpretations of American history have their counterpart in certain British utterances, which indicate that a new light has begun to shine in respect to their dealings with us in the past. Rudyard Kipling, for instance, speaks of the landing of the American troops in England as "the second voyage of the Mayflower." Lord Balfour visits the United States to bring the greetings of the "homeland," seeks out Mount Vernon, in company with M. Viviani, who had come from Italy on a like mission, and delivers himself in this wise:

"My friend and colleague, M. Viviani, in phrases burning with emotion and in eloquent language, not only has paid tribute to the hero who is buried here, but has brought our thoughts down to the present crisis, the greatest in the world's history. He has told us of the people of France, England, Belgium, Russia, Italy, and Serbia who have sacrificed their lives for what they believe to be the cause of liberty. No spot on the face of the earth where a speech in behalf of liberty might be made could be more appropriate than the tomb of Washington."

Most meaningful of all is the report of Mr. William T. Ellis upon the discussion at the National Council of Free Churches in Great Britain, in the spring of 1918.

"The most amazing aspect of the council's deliberations," he states, "in the eyes of an American, was in the repeated demonstrations over the place America has assumed in the moral, religious, and political leadership of the War. With the possible exception of the Prime Minister's address, the greatest demonstrations of the sessions were those evoked by the mention of Woodrow Wilson. . . . The deep flowing enthusiasm for America may be found among all classes, from the sober dons of Oxford University and members of Parliament, to private soldiers and home-keeping women. . . . 'We gave America her faith, her tongue, her ideals, her fathers,' said the Council's president, 'she gives to us today a great moral verdict and a great moral prophet. We gave to America her sires, she is giving to us her sons.'" "Canada," Mr. Ellis states, "was usually coupled with the United States as part and parcel of the New World, scarcely distinguishable from ourselves."

And so, under the pressure of the titanic struggle, we have ironed out our differences and come to an understanding of our past and our future at a single stroke. Lowell, in his classic address on Democracy, delivered at Birmingham, when he was ambassador to the Court of St. James, alluded to America's offense in British eyes in that "we are infecting the Old World with what seems to be thought the entirely new disease of Democracy." Lowell would not say that even in pleasantry today.

The Fellowship of Service

This is the point to which we have been coming. It is to be a fellowship of service for all mankind — America and Great Britain, not for themselves, but for the world. Fortunately the Anglo-Saxon people were trained for the step long before the War brought us together, since the idea of service is the very basis of our civilization.

Several years ago Lord Russell of Killowen delivered an address before the American Bar Association in Saratoga in which he gave this definition of civilization: "Its true signs are thought for the poor and suffering, chivalrous regard and respect for women, the frank recognition of human brotherhood, irrespective of race or color or nation or religion; the narrowing of the domain of mere force as a governing factor in the world, the love of order and freedom, abhorrence of what is mean and cruel and vile, ceaseless devotion to the claims of justice."

Beside this noble utterance of the British jurist a writer at the time placed the following words of Professor William James, the psychologist, addressed to a company of New Englanders united in an unpopular cause:

"The great international and cosmopolitan liberal party, the party of conscience and intelligence the world over, has absorbed us; and we are only its American section, carrying on the war against the powers of darkness here, playing our part in the long, long campaign for truth and fair dealing which must go on in all the countries of the world until the end of time. Let us cheerfully settle into our interminable task.

Everywhere it is the same struggle under various names — light against darkness, right against might, love against hate. The Lord of Life is with us, and we cannot permanently fail!"

One may be permitted to question whether two such statements as to the deeper meanings of civilization could have emanated from any other lands than Britain and the United States. In these lands they not only go unchallenged, but they are accepted as a program of development and service. There is in the very fiber of Anglo-Saxon character, as it has evolved under the stimulus of liberal ideas in Church and State, a passion for justice and a capacity for heroic self-sacrifice unparalleled among other people. It is not our boast, it is our favor. It is our inheritance from the Protestant Reformation and the democratic movement of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Multitudes among us do not recognize these ideals; once and again they have been repudiated by national action on each side of the water; yet the type persists and in times of danger or world crises it invariably comes to the front as that which lies deepest in our character.

One is tempted to cite a long list of illustrations in support of this claim. Let one suffice, since it is thoroughly typical, and has a special value in view of the fact that it antedates the War. It is a story of heroism at sea. A British captain sailing from New York to an Oriental port, laid a course to the southward, well into the region of the South Atlantic. He had an American as first mate and a motley crew of English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italians, Greeks, Russians, repre-

senting almost every nation of Europe and some of Asia. During a storm, when the situation was rendered more perilous because of floating masses of ice, a Chinaman was washed overboard. The American mate offered to go to the rescue and the captain called for volunteers. While the boat was being prepared the mate sought to rid himself of the thick boots in which he was encased, and the captain came to his relief with his knife. Unfortunately in the confusion and haste of the moment the mate's leg was cut so severely that his going with the party was out of the question. Immediately his place was taken by the second mate and the boat was lowered away. The first mate, who tells the story, looked over the side of the ship to see who had volunteered for the perilous trip. He counted ten men in the boat, *and every one was an Englishman.* For the saving of that humble Chinaman they pushed out upon the boisterous Arctic sea; and they never came back. There you have the Anglo-Saxon in his most characteristic attitude. The world will be safe in his hands.

Anglo-Saxon Resources

Some twenty years ago every one was reading a book called "Anglo-Saxon Superiority," by the Frenchman, Edmond Demolins, which went through ten editions and became the favorite subject for leading editorials, discussions at the club, and college debates. The book may well be reread in the light of what has happened since. Demolins argued for the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon people on both side of the water by reason of their educational system, their home life,

their financial method, their recreations, their ideals of patriotism. He convinced himself, and possibly a good many of his countrymen, that through these means the Anglo-Saxons, and especially the English, were producing a superior type of manhood based on the independence of private life. The book made much of the "extraordinary power of expansion of that race which seems destined to succeed the Roman Empire in the government of the world."

From our standpoint of a fellowship of service rather than of sovereignty, it is interesting to note Demolins' emphasis upon the fact that the Anglo-Saxons succeed in domesticating themselves in whatever part of the world they settle. "Other nations," he says, "such as France, Germany, Italy, Spain also have colonies, but these are mostly colonies of officials; they exercise a military dominion over some territories but they do not populate them, they do not transform them, they do not take root in them like the Anglo-Saxon colonies. . . . Men of this race have no sooner established themselves on any spot in the world than they transform it, by introducing, with marvelous rapidity, the latest progressive innovations of our European communities."[2] In the light of this tribute, whose essential accuracy is not likely to be challenged, we may expect that each area on the world's map occupied by the English or the Americans, or coming under their influence, will become a center for the spread of the type of civilization which these nations represent.

Having this possibility in mind, let us look for a

[2] "Anglo-Saxon Superiority"; Preface to French Edition.

moment at the material resources of the Anglo-American combination.

1. *Geographical Expansion.* Sir Ramsay Muir in his "Expansion of Europe" claims that the British Empire is the greatest dominion that has ever existed in history, covering as it does a quarter of the earth's surface and embracing such an array of races and nationalities. He characterizes it as the Roman Empire of the modern world. If to the British Empire we add the territory occupied or controlled by the United States we have a total area of over 17,000,000 square miles, or about one-third of the earth's surface. The complete occupation of North America, aside from Mexico and the Central American states, is a fact of immense significance. The increasing influence of the United States throughout South America is a companion fact of importance. The British Empire in Africa alone, before the War, was more than three times as large as the colonial empire of Germany, which was almost limited to Africa. Britain's hold upon India need not be emphasized in its bearings upon the welfare of Asia. The occupation of island groups in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans, and especially the ownership of Australia, adds immeasurably to the opportunity for world service. A careful study of the map printed as the frontispiece to this volume is recommended as suggesting the strategic scattering of our forces for human welfare.

2. *Number and Variety of Population.* The population of the British Empire, according to "The Statesman's Year Book," is 443,547,000. If we allow 110,000,000 for the United States and her dependen-

cies, we have a total population of 553,547,000 for the two powers, which is just about one-third the population of the globe. Equally impressive is the variety of peoples brought together in this fellowship of liberty. We call America the melting-pot of the world. While we have been welcoming to our shores all the races of the world, the British have gone out to these races and been welcomed by them. Could there be a better preparation for a partnership of good works on a world scale?

3. *The Extent of the English Language.* A German delegate at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference complained good-naturedly against what he called the Anglo-American revision of Christ's last command, by which they made it read, "Go ye into all the world and teach the English language to every creature." A considerable basis of truth underlay his remark, and the intervening years have made this truth more conspicuous than ever. English is rapidly becoming the universal tongue. What Greek was to the Roman Empire and French to the Europe of the seventeenth century, English is becoming to the world of today. Already the higher educational courses of mission schools in China, India, many parts of Africa, and in the Moslem world are conducted in this tongue. An impressive amount of good literature in English is being put forth by mission presses throughout Africa and Asia. There are said to be not less than 300,000 people in the city of Cairo alone who can be reached in our own tongue.

4. *Supremacy in Wealth.* America possesses about one-third the wealth of the civilized world. Add the

wealth of Great Britain and we have considerably more than one-half of civilization's resources in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon race. Figures as to world wealth put out by statisticians are not above suspicion as to reliability, but they at least suggest the relative rating of the leading powers. The most convincing tabulation we have seen is that of the National Bank of Commerce of New York, as amended by a well-known authority on international finance. The figures are of the period immediately preceding the War.

Great Britain.....	$150,000,000,000.
United States.....	220,000,000,000.
France.....	70,000,000,000.
Germany.....	75,000,000,000.

In the matter of commerce the supremacy of the Anglo-American people is so marked as to make figures of other nations look ashamed.

5. *Missionary Support.* We are concerned at this point only with the financial aspects of the missionary enterprise. The showing is far from what it should be, but it emphasizes Anglo-American leadership in an impressive manner. We find that out of a total of $30,688,657 given for Protestant foreign missionary work throughout the world during 1917, $19,166,864 was contributed by the United States, $1,240,997 by Canada, and $8,299,241 by Great Britain and Ireland — a total for the Anglo-Saxons of $28,707,102 as compared with $1,981,555 for Continental Europe.

These are gratifying but sobering considerations. Who can question our preponderance in world affairs? Who can doubt that the Anglo-American people are set for great things in behalf of humanity?

Shoulder to Shoulder

He would be a bold prophet, indeed, who attempted to forecast in detail the benefits which the world is likely to receive from America's partnership with Great Britain in good works. The best we can do is to point out certain spheres of usefulness which lie within our reach. Religiously, we should be able to secure full toleration for Christianity in regions like Arabia, Turkestan, Afghanistan, Tibet, Nepal, and the Mohammedan sections of the Sudan, where now for the most part the Christian message is not allowed. Educationally, acting through mission boards and philanthropic agencies, we should be able to help newly-formed democracies like Russia and China to that intelligence without which popular government is foredoomed to failure. Socially, it should be possible for us to lift up the poor and oppressed and to secure proper position and opportunity for the women of the backward races. In the realm of physical betterment, we should take the lead in ridding the world of unnecessary disease, in alleviating suffering, and in developing scientifically the resources of the earth.

Just now the maintaining of peace on a permanent basis occupies the thought of the world. Whatever league of nations may be formed, it will be to America and Great Britain that the injured nations will look for the most just and sympathetic treatment. We are better situated than any other group for mediation and friendly intervention. Said the New York financier, Otto H. Kahn, upon his return from Europe in the summer of 1918, "Whatever betide, the world will be

safe for peace, humanity, and liberty as long as America and Great Britain, understanding and trusting one another, stand on guard for any length of time." Above all, America and Great Britain will stand not only for peace, but for the Gospel of peace — peace based upon righteousness and good will among men.

The Open Door.

It is difficult to say these things without implying, on the one hand, that we are disregardful of a nation like France, which has suffered and fought so nobly for the ideals of the Allies, and, on the other hand, that we claim for the Anglo-Saxons the very domination which we refuse to the Teutonic peoples. As for France, America's admiration and gratitude knows no bounds. It has been expressed and demonstrated in every possible way and it will abide through all the years to come, one of the most precious heritages of the War. But when we consider the days which lie ahead and reckon with the forces which must reshape the world, we would be false to our deepest convictions if we did not turn to England rather than to France. After all, she is our own kin.

The War has changed many things, but it has not changed racial character and temperament, nor has it annulled the results of natural evolutions. England's democracy, in which we share, has behind it seven centuries of fairly consistent development from the time of the Magna Charta. France's democracy dates from the battle of Sedan in 1870, or at the farthest from the French Revolution.

John Stuart Mill, in his "Considerations on Repre-

sentative Government" maintained that the French are essentially a Southern people, the product of the double education of despotism and Catholicism. Mill wrote his treatise in 1860 and his ideas may not have lost the tinge they received thirty years before, when he visited France at the time of the July revolution. Undoubtedly he had a certain amount of British prejudice. But making all due allowance, his characterization remains sound.

We do not minimize the splendid qualities which have come to the front among the French people in their struggle against German barbarism, if we say that we do not as yet find in them the same moral and spiritual sympathies which we associate with the British. It was Mill, by the way, who differentiated the French from the British by the phrases which spring to the lips of the two peoples when reacting to calamity. "It has been remarked," he says, "that whenever anything goes amiss, the habitual impulse of the French people is to say, '*Il faut de la patience*,' and of the English people, 'What a shame.'" Mill's comment is: "The people who think it a shame when anything goes wrong, who rush to the conclusion that evil could and ought to have been prevented, are those, who, in the long run do most to make the world better." It would seem to accord with these observations that British and American missionary enterprises have never flourished under the French flag.

As for any complaint from Germany that we selfishly seek to substitute our rule for theirs, that we "want the Englishman on top instead of the German on top,"

Dr. Powers disposes of the matter in a highly satisfactory manner:

"No, what we want is the English principle on top instead of the German. That principle is the principle of fellowship, not of feudalism. It leaves each one free to live his own life and think his own thoughts and go his own ways, and sees the power and the greatness of the fellowship in this liberty of its members. It is not as hewers of wood and drawers of water to a dominant nation that the United States and Australia and Canada take their place alongside Britain in the great Anglo-Saxon fellowship. It is not 'submission to our supreme direction' to which Germany must consent as a condition of making common cause. Only under this freer organization, of which Britain has given to the world the first working demonstration, can we hope to be ourselves — can Germany herself hope to find her place in the sun."

The door is open wide for any nation, great or small, which wishes to join the Anglo-Saxon fellowship of service. We claim no monopoly for interdependence, for the privilege of helping the weak. Undoubtedly as the years pass we shall find points of contact with kindred souls in other lands — an increasing number — and so develop a steadily broadening unity among the nations. France and Russia should particularly incline our way. Already Japan has stated through Count Ishii that she has definitely decided to throw in her lot with the English-speaking people. There is room for all, even for Germany, when she has repented of her sins.

The process of working out a program of cooperation between America and Great Britain will not be an easy one; many difficulties will arise, all sorts of old and new rivalries will appear; we may expect storms along

the way. But into the fellowship of service we have already entered and we will see it through to the end. To the writer there came an inspiring vision of these great democracies of the West working forever in union when looking at a photograph of the Parliament buildings in London. The picture was taken on July 4, 1917, which someone has happily called "Interdependence Day." It showed the flags of the United States and of Great Britain flying from the great tower of Westminister Hall, not on separate staffs but on the same staff, not one above the other, but side by side. Moreover, the two banners were so interblended by the wind that you could scarcely distinguish the Stars and Stripes from the Union Jack. Fit emblem of the Anglo-Saxon union! Let the gales of difficulty and adversity blow as they may, the two nations will cling the closer to their fellowship of service for mankind.

FACT VIII

DEMOCRACY BECOMES THE ORGANIZING PRINCIPLE OF THE WORLD

Politically, the greatest fact of our age is the world-wide extension of democracy. The war which was planned and launched by the greatest military power of history for the purpose of making autocracy supreme in the earth ends by establishing the opposite principle. Humanity has registered an overwhelming verdict in favor of popular government.

It will help us to appreciate this extraordinary result if we list in chronological order the events of the war period which bear directly upon the growth of democratic institutions.

The March of Events

Dec. 12, 1915. Yuan Shih Kai, President of the Chinese Republic, with the connivance of the Legislative Council and after a fake election, abolished the republic and placed himself upon the throne as Emperor.

June 6, 1916. Upon the death of Yuan Shih Kai, the republic was restored and Li Yuan Hung was elected President.

1916–1917. At various times during these years the following provinces of Canada gave the suffrage to women: Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Ontario, Nova Scotia, and British Columbia. The Dominion

Parliament also passed a bill giving women the right to vote in national elections.

Feb. 5, 1917. Promulgation of a new constitution for Mexico, establishing the country on a more genuinely democratic basis and making possible the resumption of sympathetic relations with the United States.

Feb. 20, 1917. Passage of an act by the Congress of the United States, admitting to citizenship the people of Porto Rico and granting universal male suffrage.

March 15, 16, 1917. Under pressure from the Duma, Czar Nicholas II of Russia abdicated and the government was provisionally vested in an executive committee, in cooperation with the council of ministers.

March 21, 1917. The first meeting of the Imperial War Conference was held in London. This conference was composed of delegates from all the Dominions of the British Empire, practically constituting an Imperial Cabinet for the period of the War.

March 22, 1917. The new Russian Government was formally recognized by the United States.

May 16, 1917. Lloyd George, on behalf of the British Government, offered to apply Home Rule to Ireland, excluding the six Ulster counties, and proposing as an alternative an Irish convention to arrange a scheme of self-government.

June 2, 1917. King Constantine of Greece issued a proclamation declaring his abdication and left Athens, together with the Queen and the former Crown Prince.

June —, 1917. The province of the Trans-Caucasus declared independence of Russia and elected a diet representing both the Christian and the Mohammedan populations.

June 19, 1917. The Russian Orthodox Church undertook a reorganization in the direction of a democracy. Many parishes assumed the function of electing the clergy. Twelve bishops, including those of Petrograd and Moscow, were elected by popular vote. Plans were formed looking to the establishment of a representative national assembly which shall have the power of electing the Holy Synod. The Great Sobor of the Russian Church was assembled for the first time since 1682, being attended by over 1,000 delegates, the representation being equally divided between priests and laymen.

June 19, 1917. A bill was passed by the British Parliament granting the suffrage to women.

July 1, 1917. General Chang Hsun at the head of a section of the Chinese Army reestablished the Manchu Dynasty, proclaiming Hsuan Tung, Emperor.

July 12, 1917. The forces under General Chang Hsun were overthrown and the republic was reestablished.

July 20, 1917. Alexander Kerensky became the Russian Premier.

September 15, 1917. The Russian Provisional Government proclaimed a republic.

September —, 1917. Germany suggested to Poland the appointment of three Regents, who should have power to control the internal affairs of their country.

October —, 1917. The Russian Government took steps looking toward the election of a constituent assembly.

November 7, 1917. The extreme socialist faction of the Russian Revolutionists, known as the Bolsheviks,

under the leadership of Lenine and Trotsky aided by the Petrograd garrison, seized the reins of government and deposed Kerensky and the members of his cabinet, offering an immediate peace, the distribution of lands to the peasants, and the transfer of all authority to the Council of Workmen's and Soldier's Delegates.

December 19, 1917. The Province of Ukrania, through its constituent assembly, demanded from the Bolsheviks recognition of the Ukranian Republic.

December 28, 1917. The British Labour Party issued its statement of war aims, later endorsed by the socialist and labor parties of Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium, calling for the complete democratization of all countries, the removal of all arbitrary political powers, the maintenance of legislatures elected by and in behalf of the sovereign right of the people, the suppression of secret diplomacy, and the formation of a League of Nations. Associated with the above declaration is the program of the British labor leaders looking to a new national party for the purpose of reconstructing the British Empire into a commonwealth of free men and women who derive the independence of their lives and the dignity of their social position from the amount and quality of their work, whether intellectual or manual, rather than from birth or inheritance.

1917. At various times during this year the suffrage was granted to women in Russia, in Holland, and in six states in the United States.

1918. Early in the year an All-Armenian Congress was held in Erivan, in the Trans-Caucasus, at which steps were taken in the direction of applying demo-

cratic principles to the ancient Gregorian Church. The control of church property is to pass out of the hands of the bishops into those of the local congregations. The general conferences of the church are to have both lay and clerical representation. The liturgy is to be rendered in the tongue of the people and women are to be placed upon an equality with men in the conduct of worship.

March 2, 1918. A treaty was signed between Russia and Finland, establishing the independence of Finland as a republic.

March 3, 1918. The Bolsheviks signed the treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany, thereby betraying Russia into the hands of her enemies.

July 4, 1918. President Wilson delivered a speech at Mt. Vernon upon the aims of the War, in which he called for "the destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its own choice disturb the peace of the world."

July 17, 1918. Edwin S. Montague, Secretary for India, and Baron Chelmsford, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, submitted to the British Parliament a Home Rule scheme for India, looking to provincial legislatures to be composed of directly elected representatives, a Viceregal Legislature for all India, an Indian Privy Council, and a Council of Princes.

September 29, 1918. As a result of industrial and political conditions in Japan, the Terauchi government was overthrown and the control passed to a new cabinet, with democratic leanings, of which Mr. Hara is Prime Minister.

October 3, 1918. King Ferdinand of Bulgaria an-

nounced his relinquishment of his throne in favor of his son, Crown Prince Boris.

October 14, 1918. President Wilson replied to the peace overtures of Germany, directing their attention to the passage in his speech of July 4, 1918, in which he called for "the destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its own choice disturb the peace of the world," and charging that the "power which has hitherto controlled the German nation" answers this description.

October 18, 1918. The Czecho-Slovak nation, having been recognized by the Entente Allies, through its provisional government issued a Declaration of Independence and proclaimed itself a republic.

November 2, 1918. King Boris, of Bulgaria, after a reign of twenty-seven days, announced his abdication, and a peasant government was established on a republican basis.

November 2, 1918. Emperor Charles of Austria handed over the supreme command of the armies to Field Marshall Koevess, after refusing to sign an armistice with the Allies, and quitted his throne amid chaos.

November 6, 1918. The officers of the new republican government of the Jugo-Slavs took the oath of office at Agram, immediately constituting a national assembly.

November 8, 1918. King Ludwig of Bavaria was deposed at a sitting of the Diet at Munich.

November 9, 1918. Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany announced his abdication and the Crown Prince renounced his succession to the throne, with the nation

in the midst of revolution and the armies of the Allies at its gates. There followed in the next few days the abdication of sundry minor German princes and the setting up of a Socialistic government at Berlin, claiming to be republican in form. The subsequent developments in the German and Austrian Empires are too uncertain and obscure to warrant the dating or characterizing of specific events.

November 22, 1918. King Albert of Belgium, having reentered his capital, in the presence of British and American army officers, made a speech from the throne proposing equal suffrage for all men of mature age and removing all civil distinctions between the Flemings and Walloons.

To the above chronology of the democratic movement during the war years should be added the strong trend in that direction in the Norse countries. No dates can be mentioned in this connection, nor can specific events be quoted, but it is known that a well-defined movement has arisen in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, looking to an enlargement of popular rule. Mr. Maurice Francis Egan, the United States minister to Denmark, has been studying the changes of opinion in Scandinavian countries and in a recent address before the American Academy of Arts and Letters expressed the conviction that the trend of opinion among the Norsemen is setting towards a republican system.

The Sweep of the Democratic Movement

On every side it is recognized that a tidal wave of democracy is sweeping over the world. Study the

above list geographically and note the lands where the free government idea has gained the ascendancy. The tabulation includes not only the United States, Great Britain, France, Russia, Holland, Scandinavia, and Germany, but also Japan, China, India, Armenia, and Mexico.

Study the list from the sociological point of view and note the departments of life which are affected — political, economic, religious. The sweeping changes proposed in the suffrage of countries like England and the United States are matched by the economic proposals put forth by the British Labour Party, looking to a commonwealth of those who work. Industrial democracy is no longer an academic theme. It is in the arena of world forces, struggling for recognition and control. English statesmen, men of the old school, admit that hitherto labor has been exploited at home and abroad and that the time has come for a fairer division of the good things of life. Africa must no longer be regarded as a mere labor market for the white man's projects. Consider the religious changes impending — the Russian Church holding elections, the Armenian bishops voting popular reforms.

Everywhere the world is on fire with the spirit of liberty. "Autocracy must go" was the common interpretation placed upon President Wilson's note to Germany, demanding the abolition of all arbitrary rule. In its deepest significance the War was the result of two principles of government competing for the control of the world. Each had reached such proportions that the world was not large enough to hold them both. Democracy, resting upon justice and truth, was con-

tent to wait for the slow but sure process of human enlightenment. Autocracy, resting upon brute strength, undertook to subdue the world by force of arms. The effort was foredoomed to failure. It came a century and a half too late in human history. The forces of democracy rose *en masse* and said, "Let us settle this thing here and now and for all time." And beyond peradventure, it has been settled — for every section of the earth, for every department of life. Hereafter the modern world will stand for no hierarchies, whether political, social, or ecclesiastical.

Historians will undoubtedly consider 1918 as the high-water mark of liberty. But note what happened in 1917. Twenty of the thirty-eight listed events occurred in that year. We may say that the world made more progress towards freedom during those twelve months than in any century of history. Practically all the important steps of progress were taken after the Russian Revolution of March 15, 1917, and may be considered to have hinged upon that stupendous event. It is well to bear this in mind, in view of the horrors which have characterized the rule of the Bolsheviks. Russia's break with autocracy not only defined the issue of the Allies, removing the last remnant of excuse on the part of any freedom-loving country for keeping out of war; but it awakened the slumbering forces of liberty throughout the world. Asia felt it in every fiber of her being. Latin America could not deny its significance. To America it was the very summons of God. By all means let us honor 1917.

The Deep Roots of Democracy

In Cambridge University, England, there is a library of 60,000 volumes, all bearing upon the problem of human liberty. Viscount Morley, in his "Recollections," tells how Lord Acton amassed this wealth of literature from many ages and lands in the hope that it might help toward the substitution of freedom for force in the government of men. It was a generous and noble idea, even if the collection has had no vital bearing upon the universal platform of liberty which is now being promulgated. What the library does for us is to bear silent witness to the historical processes which lie behind the achievements of the past five years. Sixty thousand books to describe the struggles of the race upwards toward freedom! Perhaps if the Kaiser had immersed himself in the Acton Library he would have been restrained from his mad adventure.

These years of war have revealed how deeply the roots of liberty penetrate into the human soil. They have brought to the front a capacity for sacrifice in behalf of freedom which no one seems to have suspected. In no other way can we account for the sudden, the spontaneous, the overwhelming uprising of the forces of freedom throughout the world. We have seen that it was not a matter exclusively of the civilized parts of the earth, since Africa and Asia have fought by the side of Europe and America. It is a matter of the human creature as such. Lord Morley has said that democracy has its roots in the nature of things. In one of the mission schools of Shanghai a Chinese girl recently wrote an essay on "Liberty, Equality,

Fraternity, Inherent in the Idea of Man." The Chinese peasant girl and the most cultured of the English statesmen and writers are found standing on the same platform. Before the War such sentiments would have been challenged in many quarters — not so today.

It is extraordinary how the nations, especially those of the East, have refused to be governed by the theories of statesmen and political philosophers. The statesmen had it all figured out that China was unfit for democracy. They maintained that scarcely one qualification for popular government on a national scale was to be found among the Chinese. "How can you have a republic without republicans?" The theorists, both within and without the country, almost to a man, endorsed Yuan Shih Kai's little coup. They made a bad guess. Yuan suddenly died and the populace demanded that the republic be restored. Then came Chang Hsun, with his capture of Peking and the placing of the little Manchu prince upon the throne. Chang's revolution was snuffed out in exactly twelve days. China has announced to the world that she means to have democracy and no fake democracy at that.

Those who know the Chinese best, like Ambassador Reinsch and Archibald Colquhoun, bear witness to the faculty for local self-government which runs in the Chinese blood. The worst that Colquhoun can say is that they are non-political in national affairs, being content, as a rule, with a large measure of self-control in the family and the community. Mr. Reinsch finds such a *penchant* for democracy in the life of Chinese villages and towns that he holds the demand

for a national assembly to be the natural outgrowth of what is deeply ingrained in their character. He quotes the Chinese maxim, "The people's hearts and Heaven's decree are the same."

It would be rash to attempt to box the compass of democracy's future in China or in any other Oriental land; but what is made plain is that the instincts of the Easterner on this subject are sound. Galsworthy was right when he wrote in the *Yale Review*,

"Democracy is the rising tide; it may be dammed or delayed, but cannot be stopped. It seems to be a law in human nature that where, in any corporate society, the idea of self-government sets foot it refuses to take that foot up again. State after state, copying the American example, has adopted the democratic principle; the world's face is that way set. And civilization is now so of a pattern, that the Western world may be looked on as one State, and the process of change therein from autocracy to democracy regarded as though it were taking place in a single old-time country such as Greece or Rome.[1]

The Naturalization of Democracy

Is there to be one and the same kind of democracy all over the earth? Obviously not. Look again at the list of events and note not only the wide diffusion of the idea of popular government but the divergent types of nationality and the varying roads along which they have journeyed to their present point of view. We have the British, with seven centuries of progress, presenting to the world that modern anomaly, a democratic king. We have the United States organ-

[1] *Yale Review*, October, 1918.

izing its federal life under the leadership of an imperial president. Mexico, long the synonym for fake republicanism, bids fair to evolve something useful out of the dictator theory of Roman times. China is giving the world an interesting experiment in the federalizing of village democracies. Japan, a Teutonic state grafted upon Oriental despotism, is seen turning to England and America for an infusion of Anglo-Saxon freedom.

He would be a bold man who attempted to forecast the development of these various strains of the democratic principle. Of one thing may we be certain: that each nation, while learning from all the rest, will follow its own genius, and, having regard to its historical backgrounds, will evolve a governmental type suited to its special needs and temperament. We are learning that democracy is adaptable to all climes and races, that it is too big a thing to be confined within the walls of a single national scheme. We should expect and encourage the naturalization of democracy in many lands. The world's governmental unity should be a unity in diversity. Democracy rests upon the freedom of the individual. Correspondingly its collective action must be spontaneous, unrestrained.

Argentina would appear to be an exception to this rule, since she adopted in 1853 a constitution modeled closely upon that of the United States and, in spite of later changes, may be regarded as a replica of ourselves. It should be borne in mind, however, that Argentina, like America, is a projection of Europe. Her population is even found to contain a large admixture of the Anglo-Saxon element. Desmoulins, the

French author whom we have quoted, cites Argentina as one of the sections of the earth "threatened" by Anglo-Saxon rule.

But even should our American framework of government be duplicated generally among the states to the south, it would not alter the trend of national individualism as between other groups, and especially as between the East and the West. Japan is a case in point. We are assured that democracy is making headway in that country with gigantic strides. The significance of the recent change in government lies in the fact that for the first time since the overthrow of the Shogun and the military caste and the adoption of the constitution, the country is ruled by a ministry representing a distinct political party, whose head is an untitled citizen. The day of the "Elder Statesmen" has passed. It is true the Prime Minister is responsible to the Emperor rather than to Parliament, but therein lies the field of development immediately in sight. Intelligent Japanese are reflecting upon the fact that in the olden time the Mikado was less of an actual ruler than a symbol of patriotism and religion. It would not be an unnatural step, they argue, for the country to ask him to return to the retirement from which he emerged in 1889. No lack of respect, they maintain, is involved in such a suggestion, the feeling being that, freed from responsibility in the practical affairs of state, the Emperor would count the more as a center of patriotic sentiment and aspiration.

India is another country to watch. In spite of her varied races, languages, and creeds, India as with one voice asks for Home Rule. Great Britain is inclined

to grant the request. But what shall be the type? How associate in a well-balanced state British overlordship in diplomacy and military affairs, Brahman dictatorship in religion, native princes demanding social recognition, and a citizenry seething with the idea of popular rights? The world would seem to be getting ready for something new in the line of popular rule.

International Democracy

We owe this felicitous phrase to our new ambassador to Japan, Mr. Morris. Upon taking up his duties, Mr. Morris urged that it was to guarantee the principle of "international democracy" that Japan and the United States had become allies and comrades in their fight against a common foe. He might well have gone a step farther and said that this new world-principle is the best guarantee we have of a permanent peace.

Whatever form and content the proposed League of Nations may take, its success is bound to depend upon the fellowship of the countries which are avowedly upon the democratic basis. In the last resort the League will depend upon Great Britain, France, and the United States. Lloyd George has called attention to the fact that the British Empire is in itself a League of Nations pledged to justice and peace. The Imperial Conference, mentioned in our list of events, which met almost continuously in London during the War, constituted what amounted to an Imperial Cabinet. Whether or not this leads to the formation of an Imperial Legislature and an Imperial Executive, it will remain as a symbol and pledge of what a British statesman has called "a voluntary union of the au-

tonomous nations of an imperial Commonwealth." If to such a combination we can add the United States and France, the peace of the world should be reasonably secure.

Much encouragement arises from the fact that the Inter-Allied Labor Conference, held in London in February, 1918, taking its cue from the previous action of the British Labour Party, came out specifically for internationalism based upon a democracy which not only defends itself but seeks the welfare of all. The platform contains this significant declaration:

"Whoever triumphs, the peoples will have lost unless an international system is established which will prevent war. What would it mean to declare the right of peoples to self-determination if this right were left at the mercy of new violations, and were not protected by a super-national authority? That authority can be no other than the League of Nations, in which not only all the present belligerents, but every other independent state, should be pressed to join."

By way of carrying out the above principles, the Labor Conference called for the establishment of an international high court, which should settle disputes and act as mediator between states in all issues which are vital to world welfare. It stood for the right of the League to guide the consultations of peoples seeking self-determination, it proposed the erection of a firm structure of international law, it favored the organization of an international legislature in which every civilized state shall have its share, and, of course, the providing of suitable sanctions by which the League may be enabled to enforce its decrees. Finally, it demanded the complete democratizing of all countries.

This is the most definite and constructive program of internationalism which has been promulgated. It calls upon all free countries to think in terms of restricted sovereignty, and it seeks to place upon the stronger nations a heavy load of responsibility towards the weaker peoples. Very likely the Great Powers are not ready for such radical steps. But we should all rejoice over the broad outlook upon the world and the note of national altruism which characterized this utterance of European labor leaders. It is one of the great signs of the times.

The one clear thing which emerges from the various programs of world reconstruction is the determination that the nations must get together and stay together in the purpose to abolish war and to make it possible for each nation to develop according to its special genius and opportunity. Everywhere the demand is for a beneficent and practical world unity. The dominating principle of world politics since the Renaissance has been nationalism. Henceforth, if it is not to be internationalism, it will at least be nationalism and internationalism in proper balance.

Democracy at heart is altruistic; it is other-regarding. "Democracy," as a recent writer remarks, "is in one sense the negation of class privileges among a people, and when applied to international relations it implies the moral duty of the powerful to defend the rights of the less powerful, as well as the rights of the latter to claim a footing of equality in the council chamber of nations." Theodore Parker is credited with saying, "Democracy means not 'I'm as good as you are,' but 'You're as good as I am.'" An editorial

writer in *The Outlook* affirms the same principle in these words: "Genuine democracy rests, not upon an attitude of pleased expectation of receiving, not upon an irresponsible sense of liberty to work one's own will; but upon unflinching self-surrender, unceasing activity in behalf of the common good." If Great Britain, France, and the United States have risen to this height of democracy in a time of war, by that sign they have become the best guarantee of democracy in the time of peace.

The Perils of Democracy

In these days when democracy is forging ahead at such a rapid rate and when we are entertaining such high hopes of its success, it is well to remind ourselves that the greatest work ever written on democracy, Plato's "Republic," was produced under the shadow of the judicial murder of Socrates on the part of the restored Republic of Athens. What Plato had to contemplate was the fact that the most intellectual and esthetic people on earth had put to death their noblest citizen, on the ground that he was "a corrupter of the youth." Plato's position was that all existing governments were mere partisan factions. His remedy was a state built upon justice, and he looked forward to the time when "either philosophers should become kings or kings philosophers." No one today would want to live in Plato's Republic, where the poets and storytellers are classed with tyrants and sophists, and where all the wives are to be common, their children are to be common and no parent is to know his own child, nor any child his parent. But we

are grateful to Plato beyond any words to express that, in spite of the fate of Socrates, he did not lose hope in the power of the people to rule justly and well.

Plato's position is paralleled today by the man who proposes that we turn over the Government to the college professors. Undoubtedly we might do worse than that at a time when the Government looks to our higher institutions of learning for its army officers and when a college professor in the White House becomes the spokesman of liberty-loving people throughout the world. But most of us will prefer to educate the entire population to the point of participating intelligently and worthily in public affairs.

The perils of democracy are as obvious today as they were in Athens in the time of Pericles and Plato — possibly more so. What could be a greater warning to the world than the events in Russia since the revolution of March, 1917? If we have abolished autocracy only to establish Bolshevism in its place, the last state of the world will be worse than the first. The democratic nations suffered the mortification of looking on while the greatest liberty movement in history, regarded from the standpoint of the number of people involved, in less than eight months degenerated into an orgy of anarchy and bloodshed. Our chronology of democracy during the War is not one of uninterrupted progress. On the contrary, it traverses a series of events as significant to our age as the excesses of the French Revolution were to the men of Washington's time. It is a testimony to our deeply-founded trust in the righteousness and practicability of popu-

lar rule that, in spite of the anarchic degeneracy of the Russian revolution, we can say and do say, "Nevertheless, we believe in democracy."

Undoubtedly the world needed the lesson of the Russian debauch. Certainly we of the United States did at a time when lynchings were a frequent occurrence, when the "I.W.W." were allowed to carry on without let or hindrance their propaganda of class hatred and destruction, when affiliated newspapers, of enormous circulation, in our metropolitan centers were doing their best (or worst) to precipitate war between the United States and Japan. Europe and Asia needed the lesson of the Bolsheviks. They needed to know that "a new system of government cannot be ordered like a new suit of clothes," that Germany and Austria and Bulgaria may have their Bolsheviks as well as Russia.

The perils of democracy were never greater than in this day, when it is spreading like wildfire among people so poorly equipped by education and experience for its exacting demands. In a sense, the war for freedom has but just begun. What we have achieved is the right of the people to rule. The power to rule remains to be demonstrated. Alongside of President Wilson's slogan, "We must make the world safe for democracy" goes down in history the word of Governor McCall of Massachusetts, "We must make democracy safe for the world."

The Christianization of Democracy

What we are coming to understand is that democracy means far more than a form of government. It is a

spiritual quality in man; it is the doctrine of "the infinite and therefore the equal worth of living souls." Democracy without religion is as perilous today as it was in the Republic of Athens or in the days of the French Revolution. Only Christians can make true democracies and only those Christians who believe in liberty as well as love, and in liberty because they believe in love. James Russell Lowell says, "Christ was the first true democrat that ever breathed, as he was also the first true gentleman." Lowell also affirmed that the Church was "the first organized democracy."

There are two remedies for the perils of democracy at home and abroad, and only two. The first is the painstaking, persistent inculcation of the principles of human worth, of human brotherhood, of justice and good will, which were proclaimed and exemplified by Christ nineteen hundred years ago. The other is the acceptance of the leadership of Christ in human affairs. The teachings of Christ are the absolutely necessary intellectual and ethical foundation for any genuine republic. But the teachings are not enough. There is needed the dynamic of the personality of the teacher.

Jesus Christ is the solution of the world's political problem. He is the one preeminent figure in history which rises above all injustice, all unsoundness, all prejudice of nationality or race — the hope of the world. There is none other name under heaven given among men whereby society must be saved. What Plato in his Republic, Augustine in his City of God, More in his Utopia, and our modern political econo-

mists have been reaching after is a society built upon the plan of the Kingdom of Heaven. Back of our philosophies, our experiments, our gropings, lies the great solution, "One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren."

FACT IX

RISE OF THE NEW IDEALISM

In the spring of 1918 the directors of a large wholesale company in a Western city were holding their annual meeting for the hearing of reports, the election of officers, the declaring of a dividend, and for miscellaneous business. The usual formalities had been gone through with and they were on the point of declaring the largest dividend in their history, when the treasurer rose and stated that before the motion was offered he had a suggestion to make. He then spoke somewhat as follows:

"Mr. President, I am sure we all feel happy over the outcome of the year. Our profits are considerably beyond what they have been in the past and even beyond what we had hoped for. But it has been a year of war. During these months our country has been engaged in a struggle for the preservation of liberty and righteousness in the earth. On every side great sacrifices are being made. We see our choicest young men offering their lives in their country's service. In the presence of what they are doing any sacrifice we can make appears cheap. And yet there are ways in which we can help. I feel that not only as individuals but as a corporation we should count it a privilege to place as much money as possible at the disposal of our Government, and to support such public

charities as appear especially important at this time. I have accordingly drawn up a list of objects for which I trust you will vote appropriate sums, before we pass upon the distribution of our profits."

The list which the treasurer then proceeded to read included such things as Liberty Bonds, Red Cross, Y M C A and Y W C A war work, the Salvation Army, sundry relief funds, and several local charities, together with special grants to certain employes long in the service of the company — twenty-five in all. Questions were asked in regard to some of the objects and there ensued a highly interesting discussion upon the duty of corporations toward public institutions and charities, not only in times of war but in times of peace. These appropriations, as listed by the treasurer, were voted unanimously, a dividend was ordered, covering the balance of the profits, and the meeting stood adjourned.

"Would you believe it?" said the treasurer, in speaking of the meeting afterwards, "we spent about one-quarter of the time transacting business and the other three-quarters on the charity proposition."

There was a man in one of the Southern lumber camps, by the name of Scott — "Great Scott" they called him, for reasons which this incident will reveal. When the ship-building program of the Government called for timber of unusual size and of exceedingly fine quality, which could be obtained only under the most difficult circumstances and yet was needed in the shortest possible time, they intrusted the job to this man. "Size, quality, despatch" were the words

the superintendent of the company used when emphasizing the importance of the order. "It's up to you to furnish Uncle Sam with these timbers." Scott said nothing, but disappeared into the forest with his gang of lumber-jacks. When the work was nearly finished and he had more than met the expectations of the government inspector, he was interviewed by a writer who had become interested in the out-of-the-way characters who were helping to win the War. The two men were standing by a log sixty feet long "in the clear" and four feet through at the base, which had just been felled. Scott, with pipe in mouth, was examining the clean-cut surface, which he pronounced "sound as gold," when the following conversation, as reported by the visitor, ensued:

"'Scott,' I said, 'do you know what you're doing, here at this job of yours?' 'How's that?' he queried. 'You're doing your day's work,' I said. 'That's all right. But do you ever try to think out what it all means?'

"'Think what it means?' he echoed. 'This? Yes, I've thought, times. I can't say it. If I could follow along after that tree — if I could go on one of them ships, now, mebbe I could say it better when I'd get back. I've hankered to, times. But if I did, I'd lose somethin'. I'm responsible here. Mebbe I wouldn't be as responsible somewheres else.'

"'Responsible?' It was my turn to echo. 'What do you mean? Responsible to what? To your job? Is that it?'

"'Yes,' he said. 'No! Not just that. That's part of it. But there's somethin' back behind that — ain't

there? — somethin' no man can ever see or give a name to. It ain't the United States, exactly. It's — it's somethin' in me. I've got to stay responsible to that, doin' what I can do best times like these. I guess that's it — mebbe.'"

When America had been in the War about a year a woman in a Western city came to the door of a clergyman, and remarked that she had something to say. When he told her to "say on," she replied, in tones whose seriousness and thoughtfulness made a deep impression upon him, something like this:

"I think that this war is the greatest event that has ever happened in human history. How everything has changed as the War has gone on! And how we have all come to see that we must sustain those boys in France who are suffering and sacrificing for us. And how our common work for them and for the cause is burning up our frivolities and selfishness. We cannot go on living any longer as we have been. This is a great spiritual movement and the Church ought to do her part in it. These boys and girls about us must be taught what it means and how to live for others. It seems to me that if we all do our part we shall see a new world coming out of all this loss and suffering."

These three pictures — the capitalists dividing up their profits only after the claims of charity and patriotism had been met, the laboring man in the forest sticking to his job, the woman declaring that hereafter we must live for others — suggest the new spirit which has come over multitudes of people as a result of the World War. That word from the heart of American

womanhood declared a great fact in human history — "How everything has changed as the War has gone on!" Everything — not only preaching and teaching but manufacturing, selling, wood-chopping, rivet-driving, wheat-raising, cooking, editorial writing, book-making, doctoring, legislating, most of all soldiering.

The supreme evidence of the changed world, of course, is found in the offering of life on the part of millions of young men for the cause of liberty and righteousness. The rest of us were stirred to unselfish action because of their example. We knew, as the Western woman said, that boys in France were suffering and sacrificing for us. As the treasurer of that corporation remarked, they made any sacrifices we could offer of money or time or labor appear cheap. What a majestic sight it was to see them go forth — those matter-of-fact young men from our homes, our offices, our shops, our schools, and our fields, transformed by utter devotion to a great cause.

The distinctive thing about the War was this: It was the fellowship of arms and ideals. That the men went out in such vast numbers and from so many sections of the earth was, of course, most impressive. But the significant, the inexpressibly grand thing was the motive — the cause of outraged moral principle, the devotion to honor, right, and justice. General Smuts, the Boer, called it a "war of souls," a struggle "between irrepressibly conflicting ideals of national character and conduct." Another grim soldier characterized it as "the business of the human conscience." Chivalry has been in the world a long time, and chivalry, as during the Crusades, has made noble fighters.

There have been notable wars of conscience, as when Cromwell led his "Ironsides" to victory at Marston Moor and Naseby. But in this war we have seen chivalry and conscience in a perfect blend, and millions of men offering up their lives in defense of the highest ideals of civilization.

What is this compelling motive, this new power which has swept over the world? Scott, the lumberman, described it as "something no man can ever see or give a name to. It ain't the United States exactly. It's — it's *somethin' in me.*" Possibly some will prefer to leave it that way; but the vast majority have preferred to give it a name and they have called it *idealism.*

The word has come into tremendous vogue during the War. Not all who use it can define it; but they know it is not the idealism which the metaphysicians or the artists or the literary men talk about. They know it has to do with the most vital things of life. They understand it best in distinction from its opposites. They realize that it is opposed to materialism in all its forms. This is no matter of money, or of flesh and blood. Material things are important, but they must be subjected to a higher law. Everyone recognizes that idealism is not a matter of force, although it can use force to good effect. The Kaiser and his military advisers declared force to be "the master of the destinies of men." Our soldier-idealists said, "We will exert our utmost force to overthrow that doctrine."

The man in the street, if asked to explain what he means by idealism, would probably begin by saying it is the opposite of what we have been fighting in Germany — the opposite of perfidy, brutality, and greed.

Having obtained this basis in historical fact and personal experience, he would go on to name the great moral principles of truth, honor, justice, humanity, good will, mercy, and anything else he could think of which makes for nobility of character and of conduct. We have to thank the War not only for placing the word idealism in the forefront of our vocabulary, but for filling it with such a definite and glorious content. If it is plain that democracy has become the organizing principle of the world, it is equally plain that idealism is to be the spirit in which the world's great work is to be done.

Cleansing Idealism

"When thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world learn righteousness" (Isa. 26 : 9). The historian of the future is likely to look back upon these years of war, through which we have been passing, as the prophet Isaiah looked forward to the period of the Exile, as God's school of righteousness for the nations. Certainly the nations know more of righteousness today than at any other point in history. Certainly the nations have been purged from unrighteousness to a degree hardly believable a few years ago. Let us have the conditions of the pre-war period clearly in mind. In the light of our present hopeful condition it is easy to forget, even to deny, the dark days of the past.

There was Belgium. In the sense of outraged justice and in our overwhelming pity for the Belgian people, which had so much to do with thrusting England and America into war, we cannot, ought not to

forget the dark record in the Congo. The plain, ugly fact is that the atrocities perpetrated upon the helpless natives of the Congo region, next to Germany's brutal treatment of the Herero nation in Africa, are the blackest record standing against any government of Europe. Some have sought to lay the whole blame upon the wicked King Leopold, long since gone to his reward. It would be a relief indeed if we could leave it in that way; but it is known that Congo rubber stock was held widely throughout the country and that multitudes were growing rich off the brutalities of their agents in the far-away African forests. King Albert, to his credit be it said, did all in his power to correct the abuses of the vile corporation which his father had projected, but King Albert could not purge the hearts of his merchant princes or atone for the lives of thousands of helpless natives who had been the victims of their greed. It was left for August, 1914, to do that. How differently we write of these things today! Is it not clear that Belgium has regained something far more precious than her ruined cities and fields as she emerges from the tragedy of the war years?

Take the case of France — glorious France, as she towers in the sunlight of her moral no less than her military victories. It seems ungracious to recall the past; but how else are we to take to heart the deep lessons of the world's woe, how else understand the ways of God? Germany made a characteristic blunder when she taunted France with being decadent. But there were people outside of Germany who did not hesitate to use that word when speaking of certain

tendencies in the political and social life of France at the opening of the twentieth century.

We do not forget the case of Dreyfus, the young artillery officer, who, in order that the gross corruption of the French Army might be covered up, was not only wrongfully accused, condemned, and exiled, but for years was treated with utter brutality, the General Staff, the War Office, and the Supreme Court of the land participating or conniving in the crime. We have fresh in our minds the notorious Caillaux case, which revealed a member of the cabinet involved not only in crooked finance but apparently also in high treason, yet afterwards elected to the Chamber of Deputies, while his wife is acquitted of the murder of his accuser, a leading editor of the capital, whom she had killed in his office. It is pertinent to recall that these disgraceful proceedings occurred in the spring of 1914.

The rottenness of life in the high circles of France in those days was the comment of the civilized world. Common opinion had it that France was headed for destruction. We know now that the taint did not penetrate as deep into the body politic as we supposed. We mistook Paris for France. We failed to realize the sacrificial power of French patriotism the moment it is threatened from without. Our diagnosis was wrong in respect to the extent of the disease; it was not wrong in respect to the disease itself. France *was* headed for destruction in 1914, but there is a new France today. Possibly no nation in history has gained more rapidly in moral fiber than France during the four years of war.

The English writers and preachers have dealt with their national situation in pre-war days with commendable frankness and sincerity. Perhaps more than in other countries they were conscious of a downward trend. We recall many truly prophetic utterances from clergymen of the Free Churches and of the Church of England. For several years before 1914 a declension in religion had been noted and widely commented upon. Selfishness of a peculiarly sordid type was recognized as pervading the ranks of labor. The middle class had gone in for "luxury without expense." As for the privileged classes, it is recognized that a fair picture of their characteristic interests and activities has been given by Mr. H. G. Wells in the opening chapters of his "Mr. Britling Sees It Through." In those days church attendance was falling off throughout the Kingdom, and Christian leaders were frankly apprehensive as to the future of the Church.

Perhaps the clearest evidence of England's decline is found in the literature of the times, which was increasingly pessimistic in tone. Books like Brooks Adams' "Law of Civilization and Decadence," Charles H. Pearson's "National Life and Character," and Benjamin Kidd's "Social Evolution" were dragging down the spirits of men. So prominent and sane a critic as Lord Balfour had expressed a profound disbelief in nineteenth century progress. It was recognized that a "school of pessimism" had arisen, based not upon a philosophy of doubt or negation, but upon a diagnosis of certain ugly facts in modern life. There were those who took sharp issue with this trend of thought. Among these was that uncompromising

optimist, Theodore Roosevelt who, in characteristic exuberance of spirit, scoffed at the whole business and insisted that the world was being led along safe paths.[1] We know now and have known for over four years that there was abundant reason for the gloomy apprehensions of the time. In a word, the British prophets of evil were right.

Nor can we in the United States escape the general indictment. America, like England, is naturally idealistic and, like England, we have been accused of a conspicuous lack of that quality. We have been called "a nation of shop-keepers." The charge is grossly untrue. In spite of all that has been said of our materialism and our absorption in money-making, no nation on earth has a finer record in the matter of supporting the higher interests of society. If we love money, we have not lacked those who love to give money away. We are the most generous people on earth. No nation in distress has ever appealed to us in vain. Our public schools, our privately endowed colleges, our bewildering array of charitable and humanitarian institutions, our libraries, our churches, all bespeak an unusual devotion to the finer things of life.

Nothing is more indicative of national character than the literature which the people create and read. Throughout our literary development, as Bliss Perry has well shown,[2] there runs a fine strain of noble thought

[1] See Roosevelt's essays "National Life and Character," and "The Law of Civilization and Decay," in "American Ideals," in which the author goes so far as to class Bismarck among "world worthies," along with Lincoln and others.

[2] "The American Mind," essay entitled "American Idealism."

and aspiration. Our writers have been peculiarly free from the morbid, the cynical, and the materialistic. They have never been addicted to the pessimism and dry-rot of France, Spain, and Norway. They have never divorced literary art from sound morality. Masterpieces of literary workmanship, comparable with those of England, France, Germany, and Italy, we have not produced In moral saneness and soundness our literature leads the world. The same may be said of the editorial utterances of our leading papers. Even the sheets which have been the most sensational in their news columns have felt constrained to preach good morals on their editorial page.

America was dedicated to all that is fine and true by her Pilgrim and Puritan founders, who were the greatest idealists of modern times. America, that is the real America, has never surrendered her birthright of nobility. All this can be said and a good deal more, and it still remain true that conditions in our midst were far from satisfactory in the years which preceded the World War. It was a commonly recognized fact among thoughtful and watchful people in those days that we were suffering a lapse from the high ideals of the fathers. The rapid increase of wealth and the inrush of unsympathetic foreign populations were cited as the principal causes. Those were the days of wild extravagance when multitudes were living beyond their means, of the most flashy fashions, of tawdry amusements, of cabarets, of noisy clubs, of sensational magazines, of blatant desecration of the Sabbath, of steadily decreasing attendance upon church.

It will be recalled with humility that in the period

just before the War society women, and a good many who would not claim that distinction, would spend morning after morning in one another's houses playing bridge for stakes, whole neighborhoods being given up to this dissipation. If anyone objected to such a waste of time and ventured to suggest that the morning hours might better be spent in useful work, the reply would be made, "Why, what else is there to do?" Then came the dancing craze, with a new step forthcoming every month, with middle-aged couples giving up their time to lessons, and the dancing-master the hero of the hour.

Those were the days when, in our men's colleges, especially the older colleges of the East, there was an increasing absorption in athletics and amusements. The real objects of education were being smothered by what came to be known as "the outside activities." Achievements in scholarship did not promote popular favor and honor. They were more likely to be regarded as a social handicap. "The thing" for the student, was to secure just enough marks to "get across" in examinations. All above that level was wasted effort on his part. That there were many students in all our higher institutions who did not bow the knee to the Baal of popularity and ease is of course to be remembered with satisfaction; but we refer to the general drift. It was the period of intellectual "slackers." Some college presidents spoke out boldly against the situation; a few trimmed their sails to the breeze; most of them suffered in silence. We do not forget that the faculties of not a few of our colleges at that time were being filled up with Ph.D. men from

German universities, young Americans who had lost not only their religion but a good deal of their moral enthusiasm in the enervating atmosphere of Teutonic Kultur, who openly scoffed at Christian belief in their classrooms, and if any trustee or old-fashioned professor had the temerity to object, would reply, "The college is not primarily concerned with character; it is an enterprise of learning."

It is not pleasant to recall these things; but we need to recall them, in order that we may appreciate the danger we were in and how salutary has been the return to the ideals of the past. Taking it all in all, was not that Western woman right who spoke to the clergyman about the war interests and activities "burning up our frivolities and selfishness" and who said, "We cannot go on living any longer as we have been"?

That was a timely and saving note, early in the War, which Alfred Noyes struck in his superb poem, "The Searchlights." It gave the moral challenge for which many were waiting.

"Shadow by shadow, stripped for fight,
The lean black cruisers search the sea.
Night-long their level shafts of light
Revolve, and find no enemy.
Only they know each leaping wave
May hide the lightning, and their grave.

And in the land they guard so well
Is there no silent watch to keep?
An age is dying, and the bell
Rings midnight on a vaster deep.
But over all its waves, once more,
The searchlights move, from shore to shore.

And captains that we thought were dead,
  And dreamers that we thought were dumb,
And voices that we thought were fled,
  Arise, and call us, and we come;
And 'search in thine own soul,' they cry;
'For there, too, lurks thine enemy.'

Search for the foe in thine own soul,
  The sloth, the intellectual pride;
The trivial jest that veils the goal
  For which our fathers lived and died;
The lawless dreams, the cynic Art,
That rend thy nobler self apart.

Not far, not far into the night,
  These level swords of light can pierce;
Yet for her faith does England fight,
  Her faith in this our universe;
Believing Truth and Justice draw
From founts of everlasting law;

The law that rules the stars, our stay,
  Our compass through the world's wide sea,
The one sure light, the one sure way,
  The one firm base of Liberty;
The one firm road that men have trod
Through Chaos to the throne of God.

Therefore a Power above the State,
  The unconquerable Power returns.
The fire, the fire that made her great
  Once more upon her altar burns.
Once more, redeemed and healed and whole,
She moves to the Eternal Goal." [3]

[3] From "The Lord of Misrule and Other Poems," by Alfred Noyes, published by the F. A. Stokes Co., New York.

Practical Idealism

Not only has the word idealism come into vogue as the result of the War, but it has been cleared of some most unfortunate implications. Formerly to be known as an idealist did not commend one to men of affairs. For often the name suggested the man of highly imaginative temperament, the day dreamer, the man who advocated short cuts to the millennium, the woman of shallow sentimentality. Speak to a business man of idealism and you would call to his mind the minister who wore his hair long, the socialist with his flowing black tie, the professor with his half-baked sociology, the poet with his look of dreamy abstraction.

Who are the idealists today? They are the captains of industry like Charles M. Schwab, Edward N. Hurley, and John D. Ryan, and the "dollar-a-year-men," who, at the call of their country, turned from their own affairs and devoted their talent and energy to directing the business side of the War. They are the men throughout the country who served on the five thousand Exemption Boards, who devoted days and nights without stint to a just and sympathetic interpretation of the universal draft. They are the farmers who encouraged their "help" to enter the Army and then did double service in the fields, that the Allies should not lack for food. They are the miners, machinists, lumbermen, railroad men, and workmen generally all over the land who rose above the sordidness of the strike mania and stayed by their jobs. They are the women who left the comfort and security of home and engaged in manual toil in shop and field. They are the

mothers and sisters who month after month and year after year sewed, knitted, and prepared bandages in connection with the Red Cross and other relief organizations. They are the college girls who ran kitchens, made gardens and milked cows, and turned their hands to any practical job that needed doing. They are the clergymen who exchanged the ministerial robes for the khaki, who as chaplains, Y M C A workers, and fighters rendered whatever service they were asked to perform. They are the college professors who, in laboratory and training camp, placed their expert knowledge at the service of the Government. They are the artists, musicians, and actors who cheered the hearts of our soldiers and aroused the enthusiasm of the people at home. They are the poets who shouldered guns and marched into the trenches. Most of all, they are the fighters on land and sea and in the air, who counted not their lives dear, in order that materialism and brute force might be put down forever and that we might live in a world where ideals have a fair show.

No such wave of holy zeal for practical ends has ever swept over the earth. A Chicago writer, at the time engaged in the Secret Service Department of the Government, upon visiting Washington, said it was like a religious revival to hear the conversation in the corridors of the hotels and the lobbies of Congress where big business men congregated. All the talk was about helping this and helping that, in order that each might do his part to win the War. The idealism of today is not the abstract idealism of the books, but the practical idealism of the world workers. At last we have popular recognition of the truth that work to be

worth while must have in it the element of nobility, and that all work, no matter how humble and obscure, performed in the spirit of service is lifted into the realm of spiritual attainment.

American Idealism for the World

The American people have a special responsibility resting upon them in the matter of making the idealism of democracy a practical thing in the life of the world. The founders of our Republic were not political dreamers. They were statesmen as well as seers. They understood the limitations of human nature. In breaking from the tyranny of the monarch they had no intention of delivering the Government over to the control of the mob. Kipling expressed it in his poem on Washington:

"If you can dream and not make dreams your master;
If you can think and not make thoughts your aim.",

A good book to read just now is President Hadley's, "Freedom and Responsibility." President Hadley says:

"The Declaration of Independence contains theories closely resembling those of Rousseau; but the Constitution of the United States is as different from any of the French constitutions at the close of the eighteenth century as a practical machine is different from a whirligig. The English and American liberals relied on restricted or constitutional democracy as a means of avoiding the evils which had sprung from monarchy or aristocracy on the one hand, and from unrestrained popular power on the other. The framers of our Constitution set out with a definite problem before them — the problem of constructing a working govern-

ment which should give effect to the will of the people and at the same time provide efficient safeguards for individual liberty."

The world today is overstocked with new republics, which rest to an alarming extent upon an emotional and passionate desire to possess every possible good thing in a moment of time. Who is to speak the sobering, the restraining word, who is to offer the timely help in the way of mediation and conciliation, who, above all, will undertake the long and sacrificial process of education, without which genuine democracy is impossible? Here is a field for American idealism of the most practical sort. In the chaos of the present situation two saving elements appear: the fact that throughout the world America is recognized as the most successful example of national democracy on a large scale, and the fact that America is disposed to share her experience with the balance of the world.

Another responsibility resting upon America is the application of idealism to measures of moral reform. The idealism of the United States has developed an ethical quality such as has not appeared in other lands. The wave of prohibition sentiment which has swept over our country is to be credited in large measure to the state of mind engendered by the War. The War has taught us not only that it is bad economy to allow the liquor traffic to consume our grain, empty the pocketbooks of the poor, and fill our asylums and jails, but that this business of intoxicants involves a moral taint which no God-fearing nation can suffer. America's purpose to be purged of this evil once and for all has been made plain to the world. And so of every

other national and community wrong. Practical idealism demands that the social evil shall be abolished, that child labor shall be prohibited, that working conditions shall be made wholesome and stimulating. When these and other recognized evils are in the way of solution, there are those among us who believe that the tobacco habit must be taken in hand. In a word, it rests upon the people of the United States to demonstrate to the world that righteousness *and nothing but righteousness* exalteth a nation.

One of the finest applications of our new idealistic temper has been the free offering of money for the winning of the War. A thousand pens have commented upon the unprecedented pouring out of wealth in the purchase of Liberty Bonds, in the support of war-work activities, like the Red Cross, the Y M C A, the Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, and all the others whose "drives" kept our hearts and pocketbooks open day and night. Not in the pages of all history can one find a record of such an outpouring of gifts for patriotic ends. Each financial objective was "the greatest in the history of the world." Together they lifted beneficence to a plain which the wildest enthusiast would have considered impossible a few years ago.

What the War has done is to place charity in the center of the stage. It has given charity a standing along with the investments and plans for business expansion. Thousands of men found themselves making money in order to give it away. Thousands learned the joy of giving for the first time. Their standards of beneficence were raised beyond recognition. The

man who used to give in tens came to give in hundreds, the man who gave in hundreds learned to give in thousands. The board of directors of a Boston bonding house discussed the matter at their annual meeting and decided to make no profits while the War lasted, but to turn over their surplus to charitable work. "Not owner but trustee" has become the attitude of many towards their wealth. The writer knows more than one business man who reduced his capital in order to give, and others who borrowed at the bank rather than let their favorite causes suffer. As one giver expressed it: "The War not only has pried open the money-chests of many a miserly rich man, but it has smashed the locks and hinges."

What is to become of this new spirit of beneficence? Is it to be an evanescent thing? Are we to slip back into the old ruts of penurious and grudging support of humanitarian and religious work? Are those absurd old standards to be resumed? Having experienced the exhilaration of stewardship, are we to lapse into the old habit of saying, "This is mine and mine alone"?

These are the questions which multitudes of Americans are facing today, or perhaps not daring to face. Let there be no mistake. For most of us to drop back in our giving means to drop back in our character. Our heart has been enlarged. Is it now to shrink? Each man must decide for himself what trusteeship demands under the new conditions which prevail and are to prevail. But let him beware lest the beautiful ideal which has come into his life and enabled him to transform that most material thing — gold — into spiritual possessions, the ideal which has lifted him

above sordidness and greed and made him to walk with the noble of the earth, shall be allowed to depart when the drive of the world comes upon him again and the sacrificial experiences of the war days fade into the past. A mighty testing time has come for us all. Whatever decisions we as individuals may reach, for America as a whole there can be no return to old levels of beneficence. The world-needs are upon us. We cannot shut out their clamor. "To whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required." It is the law of nations as well as of men. America has done nobly with her gifts throughout the years of war. Her beneficence, like her patriotism, has been international. Now that the days of reconstruction are upon us and the programs of peace are being drawn up, it is unthinkable that we should withdraw from the world partnership and say, "Our task is done. We return to our own affairs." By all the events of the past few years America is summoned to serve the world unselfishly in the tasks of peace. The program of generosity has but just begun. When the forces of beneficence, released by the War, are directed towards making the world a place of noble living for all mankind, the new idealism will have achieved its greatest triumph.

FACT X

THE CHURCH GIRDS HERSELF FOR HER GREAT TASK

"O where are kings and empires now
Of old that went and came?
But, Lord, thy Church is praying yet,
A thousand years the same."

With what power, with what tumult of feeling was Bishop Coxe's great hymn sung on that first Sunday after the German capitulation! In that moment the Church seemed to leap into a new consciousness of her power and destiny. Christian people were a unit in believing that the victory of the Allies was the victory of the Church no less than of the State. From the beginning they had felt that righteousness, as the fundamental conception of the Christian religion, had been assailed by Germany and her allies. Consequently with victory came a new realization of God. Our faith had been justified; our prayers had been answered; the Lord had "made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations" (Isa. 52 : 10).

Those were the days, in the solemn services of the Church, in informal meetings for prayer, and at the family altar, when the victory passages from Isaiah, together with the Psalms of triumph, were read with thrilling effect. How unspeakably precious the words of promise, of hope, of exultation, which we had learned

in childhood, appeared to us at that time! With what new meanings were they fraught!

"How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! how art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations!" (Isa. 14 : 12).

"How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth!" (Isa. 52 : 7).

"Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee" (Isa. 60 : 1).

"Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in" (Psalm 24 : 7).

"The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge" (Psalm 46 : 11).

Shall we ever forget the solemn impressions created by the reading of such passages in the first days of peace? Said a Boston business man, after hearing Isaiah 14 : 3–20 read on November 12, 1918, "The Bible is the most up-to-date book in the world."

And now people are asking as to the prospects for keeping the note of victory sounding in the coming days. Are we to see a church vibrant with courage, going out to conquer the world, or a church content to "hold its own" and eventually settling down into indifference and ease? The world has entered a distinctly new era. Is there to be a new era for the Church of Christ? "Watchman, what of the night?"

One thing is clear: the Church is aware of her problem, and is engaged in an earnest debate over its

meaning and solution. When ministers get together in little groups, you will find them eagerly talking about the Church and the new world order. When programs for ecclesiastical occasions are drawn up, the problems of the Church's outlook at home and abroad are given the place of honor, if not the exclusive place. Ministers are preaching upon the truths which must underlie world reconstruction, and upon the basic problems of peace. The religious papers are devoting columns to the discussion of the War in its bearings upon the extension of Christianity. Perhaps most significant of all, the laymen of the Church and the women who are active in its service are urging that the Church must rise to the situation or be forever discredited as God's agency for winning the world.

Nor is this all talk. On every side we hear of plans for pushing the Kingdom of Christ. Some of these are of such wide sweep in their educational, financial, and practical objectives that former efforts are dwarfed into insignificance. Practically every great denomination is launching a program of world progress, or is rebuilding on larger lines the plans which were projected in pre-war days. It is known also that the Young Men's Christian Association movement, which has represented the Protestant churches so magnificently in the special ministries of the war period, is planning for a permanent expansion of its work in every part of the world.

Most significant of all is the proposed union of the Protestant missionary forces of the United States and Canada in connection with "The Interchurch Movement of North America." The plan is to present to

the religious public, sometime in 1920, a budget covering the entire range of missionary effort at home and abroad, as represented by the Boards of the several denominations, together with the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association and sundry union organizations doing a kindred work. Accurate surveys are to be made of religious conditions in the cities and rural districts of the United States, as well as of the leading fields of the non-Christian world. On the basis of the data gathered in this way a world-wide plan of development will be agreed upon and the Christian public will be asked to contribute to it as a whole. The intervening time will be occupied in a great campaign of education among the churches, in order that all may participate intelligently and gladly. This means that for the first time in history, so far as American Protestantism is concerned, the Church will face her entire task and unitedly move out for the conquest of the world. The mind kindles over the vast possibilities of this campaign.

The signs are abundant that the Church has entered upon a new era of development. She is girding herself for her great task. In our consideration of this as the last fact in our series we shall inquire as to the characteristics of the Church of the new era and as to the spheres of her activity.

A Democratic Church

If the Church counts upon winning the modern world, she must be democratic to the core. There is no room for autocracy in the House of God. Claiming so large a share in the development and establishment

of the democratic ideal, the Church is the last institution which can afford to hold back, now that popular rule is being rooted in every part of the world.

If the leaders of the Church do not recognize this fact, they may be certain the returning soldiers do. Some one has called the trenches of Europe "the supreme illustration of democracy in the history of the world." The boys from the trenches and the training camps, where distinctions of birth, education, and wealth have been leveled to the ground, will never be content in a church where priestcraft or privilege prevails.

"Cook's son — duke's son — son of a belted earl
Son of a Lambeth publican — it's all the same today."

This is not necessarily a matter of church government. We may have a truly representative system under the Congregational, the Presbyterial, or the Episcopal form. The polity may vary widely, so long as the spirit of true democracy obtains. If those who claim to be "one body in Christ and every one members one of another" prefer to act directly upon the more important matters concerned with their fellowship in the Congregational way, they may feel that their witness and method have been signally blessed in the history of the Church. If they incline to a measure of concentration, locating the responsibility in a carefully chosen group, called a Presbytery, they may have the consciousness that democracy is well guarded both as to principle and form. History demonstrates that this plan not only is safe, but is efficient for good works. If, again, a much higher

degree of concentration is desired, and they prefer to act through a common leader called a Bishop, they certainly are within their privilege as a free brotherhood in Christ. Such an arrangement has proved to be one of great fruitfulness in the development of the Kingdom. All these systems have their roots in New Testament doctrine and practice. Democracy is a roomy affair. There may be a naturalization of democracy in the religious as well as in the political world. The important thing is to be on our guard against every form of clerical arrogance and the constitutional denial of the rights of the free sons of God.

Even more important is it to make the inner life of the Church democratic and brotherly. A denomination may be democratic in form and autocratic in spirit. In the popular mind it is the personnel rather than the polity of a church which counts. Does the minister dominate everything? Is the congregation the mere tool of the pulpit? Do a few trustees and men of wealth overshadow all the rest? Is the senior deacon the sole standard of orthodoxy and procedure? If such things are true, then they ought to be stopped and stopped at once. The spirit of the age will not tolerate them. An autocratic church is an anachronism, a blot on our civilization, an affront to Christ.

Rented pews are an offense to many, on account of the distinctions of wealth which they inevitably suggest. They are an undemocratic institution. All honor to the churches which have sensed this feeling and thrown their pews as wide open as their doors. It is a good sign that the method of church support

known as the Every Member Canvass has of late come into vogue. As democracy applied to giving, this system should become universal in the brotherhood of Christ.

The Church should be careful in every possible way to avoid the impression of ministering to a privileged class. The humblest man in the community should be made to feel that he "belongs" to the Church and that the Church "belongs" to him. Recently a missionary worker in New York City invited a Russian girl from the East Side to accompany her to the Sunday morning service. It was a congregation of quite unusual simplicity and brotherly atmosphere and she counted upon the girl's feeling entirely at home. Everything was favorable from her point of view. The pews were well filled, the music was inspiring, the sermon and prayers helpful, the people attentive and reverent. Upon leaving the edifice, she asked the girl what impression she had received. The girl replied, "To think that among all those people there was not one except myself who was not able to dress as she pleased!" It was the clothing of the worshipers which had filled her mind. How little we realize what impressions are being made, what thoughts occupy the minds of the poor as they enter our churches or pass the door! Let the Church beware of *Christianity de luxe*, the Christianity which goes in strong for the parable of "The Ten Talents," but has little use for that of "The Good Samaritan."

The word for the Church in this age is *Brotherhood.* We have talked a good deal of brotherhood in the past, we have organized what we call "Brotherhoods"

among our men. Possibly we have been old fashioned, and have addressed one another as "Brother." The time has come when we must "make good" in this respect. The world will brook no insincerity, will put up with no pious cant. It is "the real thing" which it demands.

The Church must do better than incarnate the idea of brotherhood which prevails in society at large. The world is not lacking in organizations which rest on a fraternal basis. It has its Labor Unions, Fraternal Orders, and Lodges of various kinds. Many of these perform a useful function in the body politic. But in the nature of the case they are of limited scope. With them it is brotherhood by *exclusion*. The brotherhood of the Church must be by *inclusion*, as wide open as the sky, as free as the love of God. It must have no regard to race, nationality, education, wealth, or social position. The first article in its constitution will read: "Whosoever will may come." This is the democracy of the New Testament. This is the democracy which is to sweep through the world.

We must feel with Edwin Markham:

"The crest and crowning of all good,
Life's final star, is Brotherhood;
For it will bring again to earth
Her long-lost Poesy and Mirth;
Will send new light on every face,
A kingly power upon the race.
And till it comes, we men are slaves,
And travel downward to the dust of graves.

Come, clear the way, then, clear the way:
Blind creeds and kings have had their day.
Break the dead branches from the path:
Our hope is in the aftermath —

Our hope is in heroic men,
Star-led to build the world again.
To this Event the ages ran;
Make way for Brotherhood — make way for Man."[1]

A United Church

No more hopeful sign appears in the religious world than the movement toward unity. Jesus prayed that His disciples might be one "*that the world may believe* that thou hast sent me." Thank God, the world is in a fair way of having that demonstration placed before it. Even before the War immense progress had been made in the direction of removing antagonisms and misunderstandings, and in bringing the denominations together for common worship and for cooperative effort in the community and on the mission field.

Long before the Allies learned the lessons of unity on the battle fronts of France, the progressive leaders of the Protestant denominations not only were planning cooperation but were actually achieving it. The coming together in organic union of the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists of both Canada and Australia — a movement instituted some years ago — draws near its consummation. The building of bridges across the chasms created by the Civil War on the part of the several sections of the Methodist and Presbyterian bodies in our own land is well under way. If the bridges are not completed, at least the piers have been laid.

For twenty-five years the foreign mission boards of the evangelical churches of America have been federated

[1] From "The Man with the Hoe and Other Poems." Copyright by Edwin Markham. Used by permission.

in the Foreign Missions Conference, which maintains headquarters in New York and ramifies by means of cooperating committees throughout the world. Three great churches planted by missionary societies in South India — the Congregational, the Presbyterian, and the Reformed — have consolidated in the United Church of South India. Within a few months the churches of the Basel Mission of Switzerland, with a membership of 20,000, have decided to join this combination. In China several Protestant bodies have been drawing together in recent years with reference to consolidation. In the near future ten groups planted under Presbyterian auspices and two planted by Congregationalists — both English and American — are to be brought into one body to be known as "The Allied Church of China." Around this as a nucleus other communions will be gathering. The foreign mission boards of America are now practically committed to the conduct of their higher educational work in union institutions, wherever it is practicable. There are in Asia today thirty colleges on a union basis, whereas twenty years ago there was not one.

The home missionary movement is undergoing a corresponding development under able and broad-minded leaders, through the Home Missions Council. Denominational rivalry, overlapping, and uneconomic methods in church extension work are being eliminated. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has come to the front in recent years as the means of expressing the common opinion and purpose of Protestantism.

The unity movement, which was appreciably gaining in force year by year, is now being speeded up as a result of the War. On the one hand the War has impressed upon the Church the inefficiency incident to disunion, and on the other hand it has demonstrated the large possibilities of cooperation. Finding union organizations like the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association providentially equipped for service in camp and on battle-field, the Church with splendid unanimity and generosity placed her resources of men, women, and money under their control. The result is most heartening for the future. As the first fruit of the new impulse created by the War, we see three branches of the great Lutheran body, comprising 1,000,000 members, forming one organic association, the union affecting not only the conduct of the local congregations but the operation of all the mission boards.

The signs which make for reunion are found on both sides of the water. Said the English Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Talbot, at a Nonconformist gathering in the spring of 1918:

"The churches ought to feel and show the unity that exists between them. One of the lessons of the War is that, in the ordinary man's judgment, the churches have been successful in showing their differences and unsuccessful in showing their agreement. The men in the Army have thought of them as competitors at the best and as antagonists at the worst, whereas they were allies and comrades, between whom there were misunderstandings and differences of points of view, but with whom the comradeship was the outstanding thing."

Balancing this is the utterance of Dr. Charles L. Slattery, of Grace Church, New York, in a baccalaureate sermon at Columbia University, urging that the War called for immediate attention to this matter on the part of the churches:

"Stirred by the tales of Christian fellowship in the trenches, bishops, moderators, and elders are saying: 'When the victory is won, we must plan to get together in the Name of Christ and dwell in love in one Church which shall honor Him indeed.' If we wait till the strain of the War is past, until the feeling of need is reduced, then we shall fall back to our pride in our little histories, our conviction of privilege, our mutually exclusive authorities — and the unity we dreamed of will be definitely remote. If the unity of the Church is to come soon, it must begin to come during this war. It must begin now."

Two definite propositions looking to federation and to ultimate unity are now before the churches for consideration: "The World Conference on Faith and Order," proposed by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and the overtures of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (North) adopted at Columbus in the spring of 1918. The Episcopal proposal reaches out to all churches of all lands, Greek, Roman, and Protestant. It seeks to bring them into council in the hope that measures of world unity may emerge. The Presbyterian overtures are addressed to the Evangelical Churches of America and look to an early merging of such bodies as are willing to consider organic union.

These are bold proposals, but not too bold for the

times in which we live. It behooves every local church, every local church member to give this matter serious, prayerful, and immediate thought. Every possible encouragement should be given to both plans. The Presbyterian overtures, as directed to a national group already growing accustomed to common worship and work, offer an opportunity for immediate action. Let no word be unsaid, no chance be allowed to slip which might advance this eminently brotherly and Christian proposal. Beyond that horizon we should keep in view the larger unity of the Christian body throughout the world. Protestantism stands to gain immeasurably by these proposals of consolidation, but Roman and Greek Catholicism stand to gain as much if not more. When the democratic spirit finds lodgment in these ancient churches, as it is bound to do, there will follow, as Dean Hodges has pointed out, an experience on their part "analogous to that which the Reformed Churches traversed in the sixteenth century." A second Reformation is one of the grand possibilities of the age. Russia waits for it; Austria waits for it; Spain waits for it; most of all, Italy waits for it. Perhaps to the American branch of the Roman Church is to come the honor of liberalizing Catholicism.

A Spiritual Church

The Church of Christ emerges from the War in a humbled and chastened frame of mind. The lessons learned have been deep and vital. There have been no signs of self-gratulation or boasting. The prevailing feeling is that, had the Church been more faithful and united, the War would not have occurred. Since

it did occur, church people rejoice in the lofty motives which came to the front and which gave the War the character of a holy conflict. There is a profound sense of gratitude that God was able in such a wonderful way to overrule the evil counsels of men and to turn them to good account. But the Church can never give her approval to war as an institution. On the contrary she must regard it as essentially barbarous and brutal, unworthy of a civilization which calls itself Christian, the worst possible way of settling human disputes. One of the great efforts of the Church hereafter must be to make war an impossibility.

As we look back upon our failure, we realize to what a small extent the spiritual and moral forces which inhere in the Church had been made to prevail in society at large. There was not enough of the brotherhood idea to go around. There was a good deal in spots, but the spots were too few and the system of distribution was poor. Moreover, there was a vast amount of sham Christianity in the earth — materialism dressed up in religious guise and palmed off as the genuine article. Germany was full of it, but it was by no means confined to that land. Nations claimed to be Christian which understood neither the spirit nor the method of Christ.

Rev. J. H. Oldham, of Edinburgh, put his finger on the sore spot when he said: "We have to recognize that in a society in which the anti-social forces have become so strong as to threaten its disruption, the Christian Church has somehow failed to make on men's minds the impression that Christian people, in consequence of their beliefs, are unceasingly, unre-

lentingly at war with all that is unjust and selfish. The sharp lines of opposing ideals have become blurred. The Christian protest has been lacking in bite and sting."[2]

It was by reason of strictures like this, coming not from outsiders or hostile critics, but from the very heart of the Church, that Christian people found themselves waiting for whatever lessons God might send as the War progressed and the moral issues emerged.

For one thing, we took a straight look into the human heart — the heart which civilization had led us to believe was essentially truthful and kind. What we discovered was a condition so horrible that we drew back in amazement and, for a time, in disbelief. "These things could not be so." In those first months, as blow followed blow in rapid succession, the Church was fairly shocked into a revision of her creed of man. For decades civilization had been fooling us; but in August, 1914 we found it out. The lesson was a trying one, but we needed it sorely. Our complacent optimism needed to be knocked in the head. Our doctrine of an "easy God" and our comfortable view of human nature had stood in the way of genuine social redemption. If civilization meant redemption, then things were going well with the world. Let the Church fall in behind the civilizers and her success is assured. If there is needed some spiritual, regenerating power working behind and through the processes of culture, then let us seek and apply that power with every energy of our being.

[2] J. H. Oldham, "The World and the Gospel."

Curiously enough, at that time the word which came to the minds of those who had refused to face the dark realities of life was that of a righteous man, who, writing from the gloom and mire of a dungeon, into which he had been thrust by the political and ecclesiastical authorities of the most favored nation of ancient times, declared: "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can know it?" (Jer. 17 : 9). Even better might they have recalled the words of Him who said: "Out of the heart of men proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness" (Mark 7 : 21, 22). What a list! What a revelation! Jesus was never surprised at anything which came out of the unregenerate human heart. Hereafter the Church will not be surprised.

But if there has come to the Church a revelation of man's depravity, there has also come a revelation of man's nobility. These erstwhile care-free, matter-of-fact soldier boys have taught us great lessons as to the sources of heroism and self-sacrifice! Their high idealism, their apprehension of the moral issues involved in the War and their utter devotion to duty — who can place an estimate on these things? Think of the significance of beholding millions of our young men ringing true when the supreme test was applied! Out of this experience will come one of these days a new and sounder optimism on which to base our effort and hope.

The Church realizes now the lure of the sacrificial. We have come to feel that we have been asking too little of our young people in the way of heroic devotion.

The opinion is gaining ground that we must make the Christian life worth while in the price that is paid. We do not hesitate to say that our soldier dead have brought to us a new appreciation of Calvary as the place of redemption. Dr. Harris E. Kirk, in a Northfield address, emphasized this truth impressively: "Man," he said, "must try to understand anew the fundamental significance of the cross." Hitherto we have failed to make him understand, largely because we tried to interpret the cross through medieval symbolism or mere theological theorizing. The speaker held that the sacrificial experiences growing out of the War have discovered for us the old, neglected, biblical truth that the suffering of Jesus Christ for man can be understood only through our own pain and sacrifice.

Thus the War has illumined those two great fundamentals of religion, sin and redemption. The Church emerges from the experience as from a school of theology; she is surer today of herself and of her message. Incidentally the Church finds comfort in the fact that her preaching of idealism has not been in vain. Where did these young men get their high notions of truth, honor, and self-abnegation? The majority of them learned these things from the Bible, as it was taught them in the home, the church, the Sunday school and at college. We have a right to feel that the inculcation of personal character and of sacrificial service on the part of the Church, imperfect as it has been, was a prime factor in bringing the War to a successful and honorable end. With all due reverence we may say that for multitudes of our soldiers and sailors the New Testament was their manual of war.

A Practical Church

A California preacher, who shows a keen understanding of the path along which we have come, has summed up the history of the Church in four words:

Personal: Three hundred years of fellowship, Jesus Christ enthroned in its midst, surviving seven persecutions and conquering the Roman world.

Political: One thousand years in which the Church sought a political expression and plunged deep into a political experience.

Philosophical: Four hundred years following the Reformation, the age of creeds, sects, and competing philosophies.

Practical: The present age, which has as its motto, "Produce the goods."

The analysis may not be definite, discriminating, and inclusive enough to suit our ecclesiastical historians, but we commend it to all who believe that God is speaking to His Church through the spirit of the times. The age is both idealistic and practical. Spirituality is not so much a state as an energy. The call is for the application of the life of the spirit to the actual needs of society. Illustrations may be found in every department of church activity.

The preaching of the pulpit should be more virile, definite, and searching. There should be a restudy of the lists of sins which we find in St. Paul's epistles. Every sin there named is a present-day sin. There is need of more reality in preaching, more concreteness, more connection with life. The preacher must come down to earth, and deal with things as they are. Says

Professor Tweedy, of Yale, "The pew is wanting clear, compelling speech. The cry is, '*Man of God, wake up!*'"

Church worship, in many instances, needs revitalizing. It moves too heavily, too monotonously, it fails "to grip"; the sense of the all-pervading presence of God is not found. Let each congregation look into this vitally important matter. The fault may be with the ritual, with the minister, with the choir, with the people, with all combined. It is a good sign that groups of spiritually-minded ministers are studying how the public service can both attract and empower under modern conditions.

The business side of the Church is usually susceptible of improvement, especially in the country districts. Slackness in the financing of the parish, in the care of the sanctuary, in the keeping of records, in the sending of delegates, in participation in denominational and kingdom enterprises is a sad blot on any congregation. Said Mr. Norval Hawkins, of the Ford Auto Company, Detroit, "Business has become converted to religion the past few years. Now it is time for religion to become converted to business."

The service of the Church in the matter of community welfare offers a wide field of usefulness. Let the Church "come to life" in this realm. Every community has its evils. These should be ferreted out and relentlessly attacked. All the Christian forces in the community should be arrayed against personalities, influences, institutions, and proposals which are known to be anti-social.

Now that prohibition has come, no more pressing

problem confronts the Church than the providing of some substitute for the saloon. The argument that the saloon is the poor man's club may have been overworked in certain quarters, but it contains a large element of truth. To many in the crowded districts of the great cities prohibition will bring a real deprivation, and society should make good the loss. Attractive social and recreational centers should be provided wherever needed, and men, women, and children should be encouraged to enjoy themselves in all wholesome ways. Here is a problem which will brook no delay. It will need to be dealt with by the community as a whole, but the Church should lend all possible encouragement and support.

A constructive opportunity for multitudes of churches, especially those in the cities, is to be found in the movement for the Americanization of foreigners in our midst. Secretary Lane, of the Department of the Interior, in his report for 1918, gives startling statistics on this subject. He calls attention to the fact that in our "world-leading democracy" ten per cent of the adult population cannot read the laws which they are presumed to know; that eighteen per cent of our coming citizens do not go to school; that out of the first 2,000,000 men drafted into our army of liberty, 200,000 could not read their orders, or even the letters sent them from home; that 5,000,000 citizens of our supposedly superior system of government can be reached only through papers printed in some foreign language. These facts should be a challenge to every church within reach of non-English speaking foreigners or illiterate Americans. Here is a task well suited to

the men of the Church. Let the male members be organized to teach each one a group of four or five. Not the least of the benefits would be the friendships formed and the overcoming of the barriers of caste.

Religious and missionary education, on a sound pedagogical basis, offers an inviting sphere. The Church must become intelligent as to her world and her message. The young must be trained for personal and social usefulness.

The recruiting of the ministry and of the missionary force can no longer be left to chance impulse or effort. It must be taken into the counsels of the Church and made a part of its policy and program. The times call for talented leadership, with high devotion and special training. Every self-respecting church will aim to produce during each year of its life at least one member who shall devote himself to religious work. Large churches should have a more ambitious standard.

Multitudes of local churches — let it be admitted in all humility — have been concerned solely with maintaining themselves. How to keep up the services, how to meet the competition of the church across the way, how to pay the bills — these are the questions which year after year have absorbed the attention of ministers and officers. And outside waits the burdened and troubled world!

In all these respects a new day dawns. Ministers are coming to feel with Dr. C. H. Parkhurst, who used to say that he regarded his church not as a field, but as a force. We have come to the age of *applied Christianity*.

A Victorious Church

No one can traverse the ground of the facts presented in this volume and not feel that the American Church is confronted with an opportunity unparalleled in her history. The favorable conditions found in the commercial, intellectual, and spiritual movements of the past twenty-five years, which we have emphasized as presaging great things for the cause of Christ, have suddenly become operative in a manner so compelling as to constitute a distinctly new era. The War which precipitated all the forces of evil, in the process of overthrowing them, precipitated also the forces for good. The War has brought to us a world strangely united in its political and ethical ideals. The War has presented the astonishing spectacle of the non-Christian nations fighting for an order of society built upon the Christian plan. Stupendous obstacles, which for centuries have stood in the way of Christ's Kingdom, have been demolished; stupendous incentives have been created. The valleys have been exalted, the mountains have been made low, a highway has been built in the world's desert for our God.

The ten facts we have cited focus upon the non-Christian world as the supreme responsibility of the Church in the days which lie ahead.

In the Renaissance of Asia we found the Oriental world acknowledging our civilization and demonstrating the unity of the race.

In the decadence of the non-Christian religions we found the way prepared for the entering in of a vital and universal faith.

In the rapid extension of Christianity we found proof of the adequacy of the Christian message in meeting the world's deepest needs.

In the East and the West fighting in a common cause we found a new bond of union of a most intimate and hopeful nature.

In the looking of the East to America for example and help we found the striking advantage of the United States and Canada as compared with other nations.

In America breaking from her isolation we found the missionary purpose becoming an article in our national creed.

In America's union with Great Britain in a fellowship of service we found the two leading Christian states cooperating for the same ends.

In democracy becoming the organizing principle of the world we found the Christian ideals of freedom and brotherhood accepted throughout the world.

In the rise of the new idealism we found the noblest Christian motives becoming operative in the political and commercial sphere.

In the Church girding herself for her great task we have found a clear recognition on the part of the Church of the demands of the new era and an increasing readiness to undertake whatever God presents.

It requires no gift of prophecy to discern these signs of the times. God has published his orders to the American Church in letters which blaze across the continents. William T. Ellis, the traveler-journalist, put it none too strongly when he says:

"All that the churches of North America have done hitherto in the way of world-wide works of philan-

thropy, education, and evangelization, is mere apprenticeship for the colossal tasks which the War has unloaded upon them. Even a slight familiarity with the conditions calling for relief and reconstruction, in Asia, Africa, and Europe, shows a staggering responsibility that must be shouldered by the people of the United States and Canada, and chiefly through the churches. Certain fields lie especially within the province of religion. Religious leaders, aware of this, are making plans upon a scale commensurate with the need."

We find a clarion call here to the young men and women of our churches and colleges who seek a worthy investment of life. Upon them must the burden of the world's reconstruction rest. The age belongs primarily to them. The world is calling them and will not be denied. "Come over and help us. Come over and help us build a civilization on the foundations of God." It is the Macedonian cry of the New Era. Young people of talent and education may not put this lightly aside. Like the call of the nation in the time of war, it carries a divine imperative. Out there lies the new world of opportunity. What is to be my relation to it all? What share am I to have in the regeneration of ambitious Japan, of mighty China, of restless India, of neglected Africa, of distracted Russia, of the shattered Moslem world, of the backward Latin races? How may I help compose the rivalries and animosities of Europe? What influence may I exert towards relating the white and yellow races in a world of democratic peoples? What may I do to persuade white men to give black men a square deal? Never in history have young people been facing such problems as these.

Never has the world been so completely in their hands.

In this effort we are to find the completion of the War. The underlying cause for which millions of young men have laid down their lives was the winning of the world to righteousness and love. They did not realize it — multitudes of them — they did not understand the deeper meanings of their act. But we realize it and it rests upon us to see that they did not make the sacrifice in vain.

We must have a new army of conquest to go over the seas — an army of preachers, teachers, literary workers, medical men, nurses, kindergartners, architects, engineers, agriculturists, business agents, social workers. We must have experts in every kind of usefulness, the common consideration for them all being that they shall use their specialty as a tool for the Kingdom.

It is a situation which will appeal especially to serious-minded young officers in our Army and Navy. In body and mind they are prepared for constructive service of the Kingdom. They have come to realize their obligations towards other nations and peoples, especially the weak, the backward, and the oppressed. They have become dislodged from their country and home, and, in many instances, from the careers they had marked out for themselves. Above all, they have tasted the joys and solemnities of self-sacrifice. They are dedicated spirits. Beyond doubt hundreds of thousands of young men are to have their life work determined for them through the experiences of the War, and directed in channels far different from anything they could have had in mind when they entered

the service of the Allies. God is calling many such to enlist in the campaign for the saving of humanity.

There is a corresponding duty for those who stay at home. In the light of the world situation it rests upon every member of Christ's Church to relate himself in some definite and effective way with the Christian extension movement. We must have a great, supporting constituency at the home base. There must be boards, auxiliaries, committees, canvassers, and above all givers. The times demand an enlarged sense of responsibility in the matter of financial support. Routine gifts are not enough. The general giving of the Church must be supplemented by large donations on the part of those who can "make investments" abroad. Evangelistic centers must be created in the cities of the Nearer and Farther East. In hundreds of thousands of villages native preachers must be located and for a time sustained. In hundreds of places hospitals and dispensaries must be built, equipped, and manned. There must be training schools for native nurses. Educational institutions of every grade, from the kindergarten to the university, must be maintained as models and incentives for native effort. Schools for the preparation of native preachers and teachers are a prime necessity. An output of wholesome literature — books, magazines, papers — must be secured. There is a demand for road building, sanitary engineering, and agricultural demonstration. The arts and crafts of civilization must be introduced throughout wide areas. The workers who go out to do these things for us, leaving their American homes, must have homes built abroad; they must be given healthy, comfortable,

and efficient surroundings. Sums of money unheard of in former days are now demanded. God's investment hour has come — who will respond?

To the ministers of our churches the world situation brings a summons of vast significance. If John Wesley could say in his day, "The world is my parish," what should be the feelings of the "man of God" of our time? Is it too much to assert that every pastor should claim to be a *world leader*, that each local church should make itself a center of influences radiating throughout the earth? "The field is the world." After nearly two thousand years we return to the ideal of Christ and his apostles. For many, what the persuasions of the New Testament could not accomplish the War has brought to pass. They have been driven from their aloofness, as the early Christians were driven from Jerusalem by persecution. Dr. Theodore T. Munger used to say of his fellow ministers who did not push foreign missions that the trouble was they did not believe in their own religion. Not to accept and practice the universality of Christianity he regarded as "the great heresy of the age." The ministers must see to it that the rampant parochialism which has characterized many of our churches is done away with. Such an attitude is intolerable in these times.

Foreign missions must be brought into the very center of the Church's life. It is not enough to make an occasional offering, or to pool this interest with a score of others, complacent in the thought that it appears upon "our schedule of benevolence." Christ will not be satisfied with a schedule. Church members should be made to feel that participation in this enter-

prise is of compelling importance and urgency, that they are engaged in a definite movement for world conquest, requiring definite commitments and plans. The Church must be kept informed of events at the front. The news of the Kingdom should be made as familiar as the news of the secular world. The Church must be thinking in terms of internationalism in these days. It must stand for the whole program of Christ.

Our final word is this: The New Era demands that the Church should exalt as never before the *Victorious Christ.* We have been emphasizing the Teaching Christ in recent years. Our efforts have been directed in large measure to bringing to bear upon men's hearts and minds the saving truths which Jesus exemplified and proclaimed. Previous to that there was a strong emphasis upon the Suffering Christ. It was felt in those days that the supreme need was for men to realize the plan of God as providing atonement for sin. God forbid that we should ever remit our efforts to impress upon the world those sublime aspects of our Lord's person and mission. But there remains the Risen, the Victorious Christ. This is the Christ of all ages, but supremely of the age which is to be. We are to think of our Lord as the One who claimed *all authority* in heaven and in earth, who, in the exercise of that authority, *commanded* His followers to disciple the nations. We are to think of Him as pictured in that final book of the Bible, the victory book: "And I saw, and behold, a white horse; and he that sat thereon had a bow; and there was given unto him a crown; *and he came forth conquering and to conquer*" (Rev. 6 : 2).

There is an incident in the life of our Lord which

should appeal to us powerfully in these days. It was when "the Seventy," the first missionaries of the Kingdom, returned and rendered their glowing reports of success. "Lord, even the demons are subject unto us in thy name" (Luke 10 : 17). The engrossing thought in their minds was that all obstacles — even the supernatural powers of evil — had been removed through the name of Christ. It was at that moment — the moment of their confidence in Him — that the soul of Jesus was lifted up and He caught the vision of a conquered world. "And he said unto them, I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven" (Luke 10 : 18).

This thing shall move quickly when God's good time has come.

Equally significant is that word of Jesus, following the vision of victory, spoken, we are told, *privately* to His disciples: "Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see: for I say unto you, that many prophets and kings desired to see the things which ye see, and saw them not; and to hear the things which ye hear, and heard them not" (Luke 10 : 23, 24).

What Jesus said privately to His disciples, we today are shouting from the housetops.

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